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Ambitions of *cidade*:

War-displacement and concepts of the urban among *bairro* residents in Benguela, Angola

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Contents

List of tables

List of maps

Abstract

Ambitions of *cidade*: War-displacement and concepts of the urban among *bairro* residents in Benguela, Angola

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The dissertation explores concepts of upward social mobility, proper personhood and processes of social change as a result of the rural–urban migration provoked by the war in post-colonial Angola between 1975 and 2002. The study focuses on the city of Benguela, which received large numbers of war-displaced people, most of whom settled in *bairros,* informal settlements surrounding the *cidade*, the formally structured area of the town. The experience of displacement and establishment in urban areas is not marked only by material struggles and recent experiences of violence, displacement, humanitarian aid and so on, but also by social and historical constructions of rural–urban relationships and of urban space. These frame actors' choices, decisions and actions. I show that "war-displaced people" are individuals with a history and in history.

Drawing on ethnographic work conducted in Bairro Calombotão, surveys, life histories and historical data, I show how classificatory categories shape imaginings and concepts of the urban and the forms of life appropriate to it. The categories of "*mato* (bush) and *cidade* (city)", "*avanço* (advancement) and *atraso* (backwardness)", developed and non-developed are often used to describe rural–urban relationships and are strongly entrenched in Angola. Following Bourdieu (1979, 1980), I argue that these categories function as "classificatory schemes", that is, as socially and historically constructed and embodied structures of perception and appreciation.

In exploring the classificatory power of categories, I sought to understand what I call "ontological development", people's attempts to become *avançados* (advanced, developed). I show that *cidade* is not only the place where it is possible to live a proper material life, but it is also the place where one becomes a proper person.

I draw on theories that ground analysis in history and structural relations. However, mine is not a determinist argument. Using the concept of conjuncture I highlight possibilities for mobility and social change. The notion of vital conjunctures (Johnson-Hanks, 2002) helps me understand social change in a country where a succession of wars forced considerable and sometimes abrupt contextual change onto many people. But, the outcome of vital conjunctures does not necessarily result in significant change at either an individual or a social level. I therefore propose the analytic concept of "transformative conjunctures" to demonstrate how change is possible.

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This PhD, begun at the end of 2003, resulted in a long and quite demanding journey, the completion of which would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of many people and institutions. At the end of this road, I think of each of them and would like to express my immense gratitude.

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Still in Benguela, I express my deep gratitude to the people I met in Calombotão whose words, thoughts, experiences and feelings nourished this thesis. I feel particularly grateful to Manuela and her family and to João Fortunato and his family for the time they agreed to spend with me, for the interest they showed in my work and, above all, for trusting me enough to unveil the story of their lives. Among the people I met in Calombotão, I would also like to thank Joel Laurindo, Filomena, Antonieta and Jamba for frequently receiving me in their homes and for taking the time for long conversations.

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Chapter 1: Encounters, Sites and Questions

The map in the dust

In the dusty soil of the *bairro* backyard, Nicolau drew the directions to help me find Manuela's house in the *cidade*.[1] We were sitting outside Dona Maria's house in Calombotão, a poor neighbourhood in the outskirts of Benguela, where I was doing fieldwork for a PhD on war-displaced people in Benguela. I had met Dona Maria by chance at the house of one of my first informants. As Chapter 4 describes in detail, Dona Maria and her family had fled the interior of Benguela Province at the beginning of the 1980s because of the war. Nicolau was one of Dona Maria's sons. Manuela was her eldest daughter. I knew a few things about Manuela through my conversations with her mother: unlike most of her family, she lived in the *cidade*; she was also married to someone from the *cidade* and she was a hairdresser.

On his map Nicolau pointed to an apartment block, saying, "She lives here." As I looked at the building he was pointing to, I realised I knew it well. Close friends of my family lived in that block. Suddenly, pieces of information came together in my head and in amazement I asked Dona Maria, who was seated beside us, something I had never asked before: the name of Manuela's husband. "Luis", she said. Luis. I realised I knew Manuela's husband very well. I was caught off guard by the revelation and felt so disturbed that I did not know what to do. Should I continue talking to her, asking questions about her life, as I had been doing? Should I leave and try to absorb the information I had just been given and decide what to do with it?

Although I was feeling truly disturbed, I did not interrupt the conversation with Dona Maria even though I could not always follow the details of what she was saying. Looking back, I came to realise how much my troubled feelings and the questions that were erupting as a result were indicative of the questions underlying my study.

[1] Like most of my informants, I will be using here the labels *cidade* ('the city' in Portuguese) and *bairro* ('neighbourhood' in Portuguese). In general terms, the word *cidade* refers to that part of Benguela where space has been bureaucratically structured, and *bairro* to the informal settlements that generally surround the *cidade*. According to the *Dicionário de Língua Portuguesa* (2006), *cidade* is i) a social and geographical environment with a concentrated population density which creates an organic network of services (administrative, commercial, professional, educational and cultural); metropolis; ii) type of life and sociocultural habits of the urban environment as opposed to the countryside; and *bairro* is "i) an area of a locality that can be distinguished because of a specific circumstance / characteristic; ii) an administrative or fiscal areas according to which some towns are divided; iii) a set of houses within a specific locality" (my translation). Officially, *bairros* in Angola designate areas according to which the urban space has been divided. However, this thesis explores the ways in which these terms constitute classificatory categories with strong symbolic power. They are central to the thesis and are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

It was an amazing coincidence that Manuela, Dona Maria's daughter who had left the *bairro* and of whom I had heard so much, was the wife of someone I had known for more than 30 years, someone who could almost be considered my kin. Luis was not really part of my family, but he was the brother of Isabel, Rodrigo's wife. And although Rodrigo, his parents and sisters were not my biological kin either, our ties ran very deep. Our families have known each other for more than forty years and they are so close that Rodrigo and Isabel were married in my parents' house, as was one of his sisters. My parents were the witnesses at their weddings; Rodrigo's sisters are the godmothers of my two sisters and I am his nephew's godmother.

Our relationship began through neighbourliness. Rodrigo's parents used to live across the road from my parents. This relationship evolved into a strong friendship between our parents – in particular between my parents and Rodrigo's mother – and was transposed into the next generations, involving children and grandchildren from both families. My older siblings and I call Rodrigo's mother *tia* (aunt) and my younger siblings call her *avó* (grandmother). Although we are not blood-related, our families have been linked for many years by a long relationship of friendship and *compadrio,*[2] permeated by strong moral obligations and expectations from both sides.

However, even if the coincidence was astonishing, I know that it was not only the coincidence that had struck me. It was also the fact that a daughter of Dona Maria, a woman living in a crumbling house in *bairro* Calombotão and who brewed *capuka*[3] to survive, could be the wife of Luis, a white middle-class man of the *cidade* who, I imagined, had rarely set foot in a *bairro*. It was as though reality, the world out there, had arranged itself to demonstrate some of the issues at stake in my study. My surprise reveals two things immediately: first, as I discuss later in greater detail, it reveals the power of the *cidade* and *bairro* as "classificatory devices", as in my mind Luis (and I for that matter) belonged to the *cidade* and Maria and her family to the *bairro*. Second, it reveals that (even) in my mind, as in the mind of many Angolans, *bairro* and *cidade* corresponded to two separate "worlds". Despite my surprise, the event also showed that although in the context of Angolan urban areas these two labels, *cidade* and *bairro*, are commonly used and seem to refer to perfectly distinct social and geographical spaces, the apparent dichotomy between them hides a much

[2] The institution of *compadrio* has been created by the Catholic Church through the ceremony of baptism and establishes a "spiritual relationship between *padrinhos* (godfathers) [and *madrinhas* (godmothers)] with *afilhados* (godsons) [and *afilhadas* (goddaughters)]" (de Oliveira, 1996: 185). The social effects of *compadrio* go beyond its religious meaning creating often between *padrinhos*, *afilhados* and *compadres* a kinship relationship permeated by mutual rights and obligations (ibid; see also Chapter 4).

[3] A locally fermented beverage made of maize.

more complex reality. The extraordinary coincidence of Manuela being Luis's wife made me suddenly absorb, almost physically, something I knew only conceptually, that is the complexity of the relationships linking the *bairro* and the *cidade*.

The sites of this study: Benguela and Bairro Calombotão

The city of Benguela is, like Luanda, one of the oldest colonial urban agglomerations on the African Atlantic coast. It was founded in 1617 by the Portuguese and until the end of the XIX century functioned practically as a trade post and a military point from which Portuguese commercial interests were consolidated and administrative control into the interior of the territory was expanded. (See Chapter 2 for details.) Although before national Independence in 1975 Benguela's economic and demographic importance was declining,[4] the city received hundreds of thousands of war-displaced people at the different moments of post-Independence war. Being a coastal town, Benguela was not as often hit by military confrontation as the interior of the country.

My PhD project looks broadly into the relationship that rural war-displaced people established with urban areas and, as a result, explores issues related to rural–urban migration. In Angola, significant rural migration to urban areas began in the 1950s with the coffee boom and early industrialisation (Amado, Cruz and Hakkert, 1992; Messiant, 1989). However, after Independence in 1975, the reasons underlying most migration to the cities were related to military conflict in the country which lasted until 2002, only interrupted by brief periods of relative peace. As a result, I start by outlining Angola's recent political history, in particular the different wars to which the country was subject and the migration that these wars provoked.

Recent migration in Angola: war-displacement to the urban areas

Independence in Angola was declared on 11 November 1975 by the MPLA[5], the movement that formed the first Angolan government. At that time, the three political movements that had fought for the liberation of the country from colonial rule were already at war, with UNITA[6] and the FNLA[7] being supported by South Africa, the USA and neighbouring Zaire, and MPLA by Cuba and the USSR. The war was not only the result of profound differences of political, social and economic projects defended by the three liberation movements, but also a

[4] At the moment of Angolan Independence in 1975, Benguela was the fourth largest city in terms of population after Luanda, Huambo and Lobito.
[5] Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
[6] National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola
[7] National Front for the Liberation of Angola

consequence of the cold war and of the crucial geographical position occupied by Angola in a region marked by the interests of apartheid South Africa. That conflict ended in March of 1976 with the victory of the MPLA government, supported at the time by Cuban soldiers. However, in 1978, UNITA started a guerrilla war, launching several attacks in the interior of Benguela and Huambo Provinces. In addition, in 1981 the South African Defence Force (SADF) began a new series of attacks and invasions into Angolan territory. The South African army at that time started also providing strong logistical and military support to UNITA, which was able to sustain the guerrilla war for many years.[8] Violence and insecurity in the interior of the country and in rural areas in particular led to great waves of war-displaced people.

In 1988, the signing of the New York Accords between Angola, Cuba and South Africa led to the withdrawal of SADF and Cuban troops from the country. Finally, the Bicesse Peace Agreement, in 1991, between UNITA and the government, brought peace to the country. However, in October 1992, after UNITA refused to accept the results of the first national multi-party elections, war broke out again and did not fully end until 2002, with the death of Jonas Savimbi, the president of UNITA, and the signature of a new peace agreement in April of that year. The ten years of war after 1992 were terribly destructive and, for the first time after 1975, it affected most of the Angolan territory and impacted very violently on Angolan urban centres, where ferocious armed fighting took also place. Main towns of the centre of the country, such as Huambo, Kuíto and Malanje, were under bombardment for several months. The exodus from the central highlands was massive, both from rural and urban areas.[9]

So, as a result of the more than twenty-five years of wars in Angola, hundreds of thousands of "displaced people" have headed to the country's main cities to escape the dangers and the consequences of civil war. Such movement was especially evident after war erupted again in 1992 (Robson and Roque, 2001). Further population displacement occurred in 1994, when the Lusaka Peace Accord failed, as well as in 1998 when hostilities between the government and UNITA erupted again. At the end of the civil war, in 2002, Angola had 4.1 million internally displaced people (Channel Research Ltd, 2004). If those who took refuge outside

[8] On the history of the emergence of the different Angolan liberation movements, the basis for their alliance with international powers and the intervention of the latter see for example Marcum (1978) and also Messiant (1994). On the role of the American government, in particular of CIA, in the the war in Angola see for example Stockwell (1979). On the role of the South African army in southern Africa during the 1980s, especially in Angola and Mozambique, see Minter (1994).

[9] On the failure of the Bicesse Peace Agreements and the resulting war see in particular Messiant (1994 and 1995) and Vines (1999).

the country were counted as well, almost 42% of the Angolan population was estimated to have been displaced by 2002 (ibid).

During all these wars, the most violent battles took place in the interior of the country, in particular in the interior of Benguela and Huíla Provinces, and in Huambo and Bié Provinces (see Map 1) and affected rural areas in particular, not only because of the fighting that took place in those areas, but also because of the damage caused to the basis of economic and social life, as it destroyed infrastructure and turned significant portions of land into minefields. Violence and destruction in rural areas led to migration to towns and to very rapid urbanization of the country, especially of its safer coastal towns. Whereas 14% of Angolan population lived in urban areas in 1970 (Amado, Cruz and Hakkert, 1992), the percentage has been estimated to have risen to 53.3% by 2005 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2005).[10] The population of coastal cities such as Luanda, Benguela and Lobito increased significantly.[11]

War-displacement to Benguela

The city of Benguela, like other cities on the Angolan coast, absorbed large numbers of war-displaced people between 1975 and 2002. In 1970, Benguela's population was less than 41,000 people. Since then, the population has grown massively. Although there has not been a full population census since 1970, estimates indicate that the city had 219,000 inhabitants in 1985 (World Bank, 1991), 287,800 in 1991 (UNICEF, 1991, cited in República de Angola, 2003a) and 469,363 in 2002 (Governo Provincial de Benguela, 2002, cited in República de Angola, 2003a). If these estimates are correct, the population of Benguela increased more than tenfold in thirty years.

[10] The population of Angola was estimated to be around 16 million people in 2005 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2005). There has not been a population census in Angola since 1970. At the beginning of the 1980s, partial provincial censuses were also carried out. Since that period, only estimates of the population have been undertaken.

[11] In 1940, the population of Angola was 3,738,010; Luanda had 61,000 inhabitants, Benguela 17,696, Lobito 16,283 (Colónia de Angola, 1940). According to projections and estimates, in 2000 the population of Angola was 13,000,300 (INE, Informações Estatísticas, 1984-1985); Luanda had 3,276,991 inhabitants (INE, Informações Estatísticas, 1984-1985), while Benguela and Lobito already had 355,000 and 600,000 by 1995 and then received even more displaced people between that year and 2000.

Map 1: Angola

A small survey carried out during my fieldwork in 2005 in Bairros Morro, Esperança and Colombotão shows the importance of war-displacement in some areas of the town. The great majority of the interviewees (80.8%) were not born in the city of Benguela. A few of the respondents (6) had been born in Benguela but had left the city and later returned. As Table 1 shows, most people came to Benguela as a direct consequence of the armed conflict: 49.4% of respondents either fled from the war or were moved to Benguela as soldiers in the national army. Knowing that many war-displaced people were received by their families when they arrived in the cities, we may suppose that a significant share of those stating that they migrated to Benguela to join their families did so also to flee from war-related violence affecting their homes.

Table 1: Reasons to Migrate to Benguela

Reasons	n	%
Fleeing from the war	76	45.78
Joining family[12]	41	24.69
For better opportunities[13]	36	21.68
Army transfer[14]	6	3.61
Other	4	2.40
Don't know	3	1.81
Total	166[15]	100.0

In addition, as interviews also show, even those who migrated to Benguela to look for work and job opportunities might have done so because of the violence and armed conflict that destroyed the basis of their livelihoods.

According to municipal authorities I interviewed, most war-displaced people who sought refuge in Benguela came from the interior of Benguela Province and from Huambo Province in the highlands in the interior of the country, regions that were almost continuously affected by war since 1978. The results of the survey confirm that view: as Table 2 shows, the majority of the respondents had been living either in the interior of Benguela Province (60.24%) or in Huambo Province (25.90%) before they came to the city of Benguela.

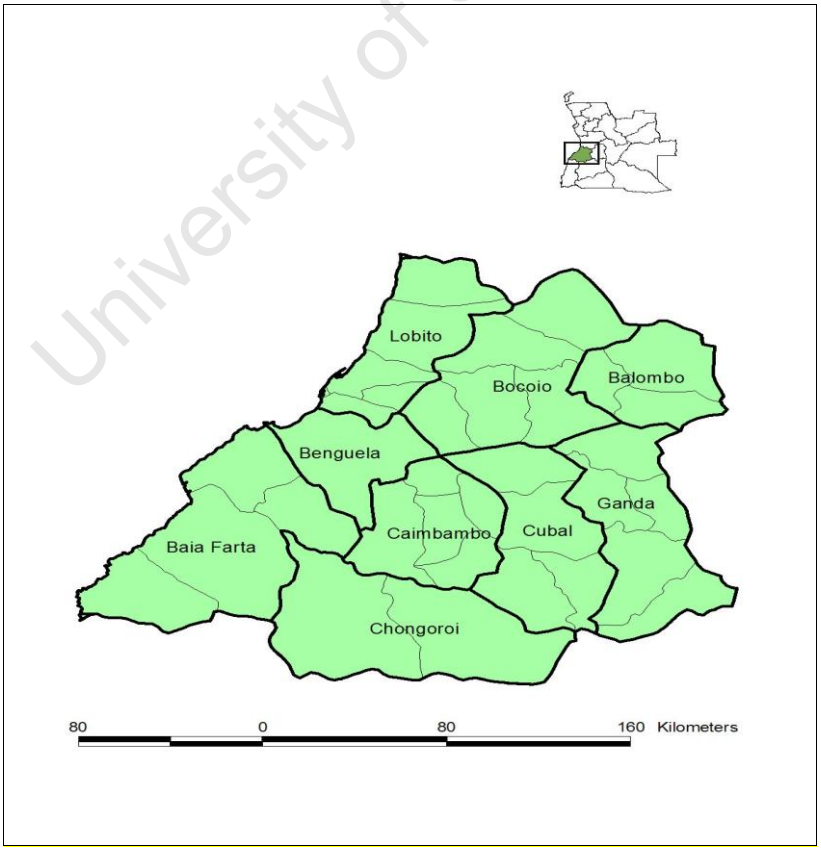
Table 2: Province where Migrants Lived before Migrating to Surveyed Area

Province	n	%
Benguela	100	60.24
Huambo	43	25.90
Huíla	8	4.82
Bié	5	3.01
Moxico	3	1.81
Luanda	3	1.81
Kwanza-Sul	1	0.60
Bengo	1	0.60
Malange	1	0.60
Kuando-Kubango	1	0.60
Total	166	100.0

[12] This category includes people who came to Benguela to join / look for their family (36) and female respondents who said that they had followed their husbands (5).
[13] This category aggregates respondents who said that they had migrated to Benguela to look for a job (16), to work (8), to study (7) and to look for better health care (5).
[14] Six people were transferred to Benguela by the Army and one returned to Benguela at the end of the Army service.
[15] Out of the 198 respondents, these were the people who were not born in Benguela (160) or were born in Benguela but were living in another part of the country (6).

The survey and later interviews in the surveyed areas showed that, before migrating, most of the residents of these areas had lived either in rural areas or on the outskirts of small hinterland towns such as Ganda and Cubal in Benguela Province (see Map 2 and Map 3). As other studies show,[16] war-displaced people often followed an intricate route before finally settling. As there have been several periods of both conflict and apparent peace in Angola during more than twenty-five years of war, some individuals and families have been displaced several times, sometimes leaving and returning to the same locations in apparent moments of peace, at other times going through several "steps of displacement". Typically, rural war-displaced people from the interior of the country fled their rural homes to settle on the outskirts of the nearest small town where military protection was stronger; when these towns were also attacked these families fled to bigger towns, such as Benguela, or to other smaller towns closer to the coast where government army forces exerted greater military control. Sometimes, war-displaced people tried to reach a bigger town because job and income opportunities seemed greater there. (See Chapter 4 for a detailed description of a war-displacement path.)

Map 2: Benguela Province: Municipal Structure



[16] See for example Robson and Roque (2001) and Andrade, Carvalho and Cohen (2001).

Map 3: Benguela Province: Towns, roads and railway

As the results of the survey seem to indicate (Table 3), migration took place in the surveyed areas throughout the period between 1975 and the end of the war in 2002, increasing during the 1980s and the 1990s as instability intensified. Many families may therefore have left their homes and their assets a long time before arriving in Benguela.

Table 3: Period of Migration to Benguela

	n	%
Before 1975	5	3,01
From 1975 to 1980	22	13,25
From 1981 to 1985	27	16.27
From 1986 to 1990	31	18,67
From 1991 to 1995	31	18,67
From 1996 to 2001	31	18,67
From 2002 onwards	9	5,42
Don't know	10	6.02
Total	166	100,0

Most war-displaced people who arrived in Benguela established themselves in areas of the town that are commonly designated as *bairros*. As discussed throughout this thesis and in particular in Chapter 3, Benguela's spatial organisation is commonly described as being

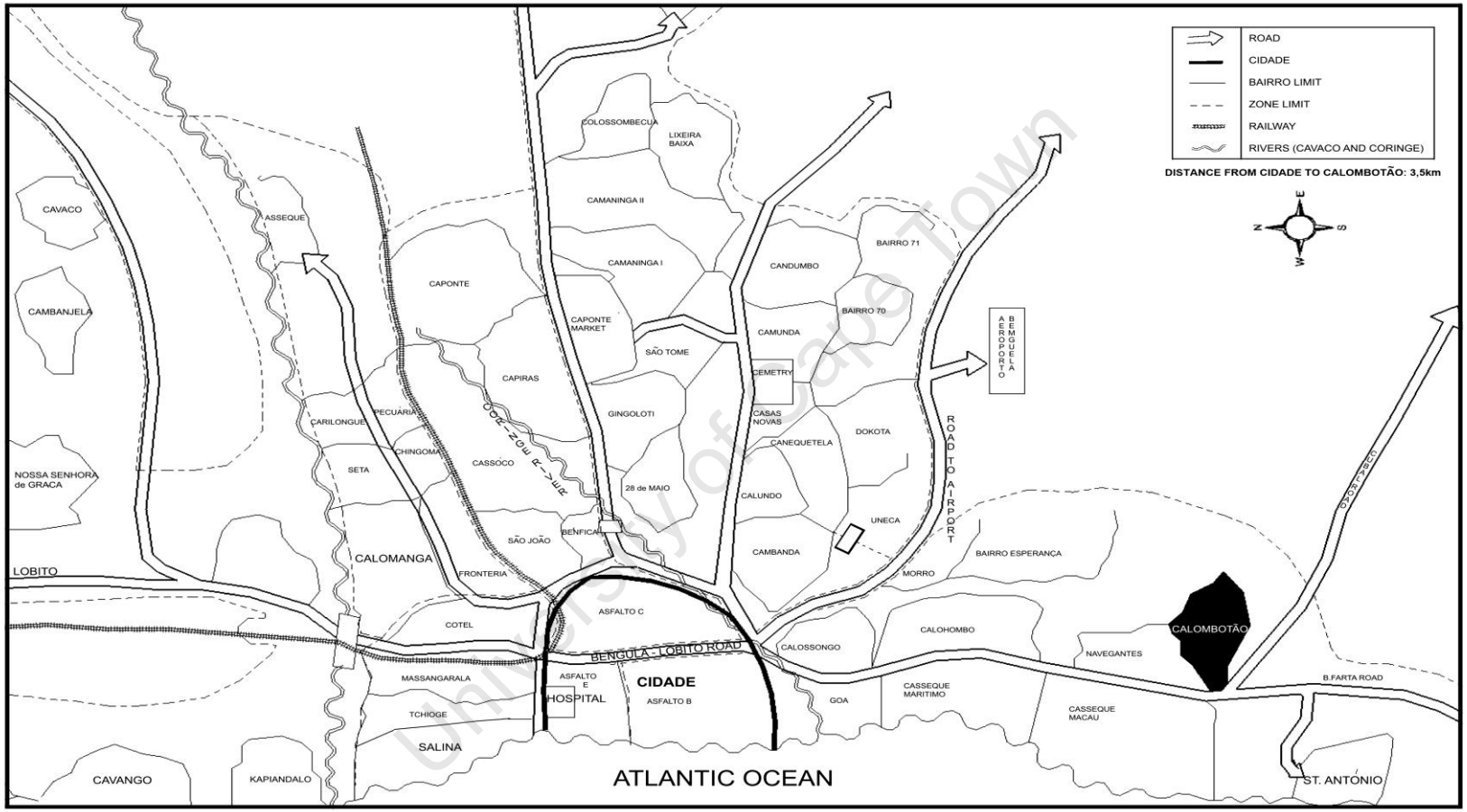
structured in *cidade* and *bairros*. These terms function also as classificatory categories. For the moment I will say that "*cidade*" refers to that part of Benguela where space has been bureaucratically structured and "*bairro*" to the informal settlements that generally surround the *cidade.*

The fieldwork in Benguela focused on some of these *bairros*. I carried out a survey in the Bairros Morro, Esperança and Calombotão and conducted anthropological fieldwork in *Bairro do Calombotão* (referred to in this text as Bairro Calombotão or Calombotão only), whose residents, as my survey showed, were mostly war-displaced people who had come from rural areas. Calombotão is located in the southern outskirts of the city (see Map 4), and spreads out along the national road that leads to the interior of Benguela Province and the south of the country. The neighbourhood takes its name from an old button factory (*botão* in Portuguese), one of the few buildings that existed in the area in the 1970s. Stretching out on the opposite side of the national road, along the coast, are a few fish factories and small fishing settlements.

Some of the oldest residents in the *bairro*, including the *Soba*[17] of Calombotão, who has lived in the area since 1978, date early occupation of the area to the end of the 1970s. As the interior of Benguela Province was subject to the first guerrilla attacks a few years after Independence, the cities of Benguela and Lobito received the first waves of war-displaced people towards the end of 1977. Some of these people were housed in a displacement camp that was situated to the south of area where Calombotão developed. As time passed and military insecurity continued, some of these people built houses in the area alongside the factory. Data collected during the survey in 2005 in Calombotão show that the neighbourhood had only a few inhabitants at beginning of the 1980s. Today, Calombotão is extensively inhabited. Most of the early houses were built of mud-bricks (adobe). Later, the local government built a few houses next to the national road and these were given to families of men disabled by land-mines during the war, most of them demobilised soldiers. These families remain on site. There are a few small grocery shops owned by residents of the neighbourhood and a small informal market, but most of the factories in the *bairro* are no longer operational.

[17] *Soba* is the designation commonly used for a traditional authority in Angola. The word *Soba* comes from the word *osoma* in Umbundu, the language spoken by the Ovimbundu, one of major ethnic groups in the country. Umbundu is also the language spoken by the majority of the population of Benguela. In the context of urban areas, "traditional authorities" are appointed by the state administration, although, in the majority of the cases, this is done in consultation with the local population.

Map 4: Sketch of the city of Benguela in the 1990s[18]



[18] My thanks to Paul Robson for passing on to me a precious and very detailed sketch of the city of Benguela drawn by Jonathan Howard in the mid-1990s. This has allowed me to draw up the map above.

War-displacement to the *cidade*: living in proper places, building proper lives and making proper people

This research project and the questions underlying this study result from my past experience as a development worker and as a researcher in urban areas in Angola, in particular in Luanda and in Benguela. In 2000, I participated in a research project carried out by two development NGOs which looked into existing social organisations in the *musseques*[19] of Luanda, and in the *bairros* of Benguela, Lubango and Huambo. Most of the residents of the studied areas were war-displaced people. This research project allowed me to approach the reality and experience of war-displacement in Angola.

When I began this research project, I wished to examine how people coming from rural areas and displaced by post-Independence wars in Angola had established themselves in the cities, and to understand the processes of social change with which they had been engaged. On the one hand, I intended to uncover the material possibilities and mechanisms (already available or created anew) that allowed war-displaced people to build lives in the city; and on the other hand, I wished to look at the perceptions which war-displaced people had constructed of urban areas and of urban life and at how these perceptions and representations had influenced their decisions and choices in their process of building their lives in the city.

Given the long period of war to which Angola had been subject, and which had led to an almost continuous movement of war-displaced people to urban areas, war-displaced people constituted a considerable proportion of the Angolan urban population. Contrary to what was assumed by most humanitarian agencies and state social assistance institutions during the war, many of the war-displaced people who had settled in urban areas were not likely to return to the areas from which they had come. While it could be anticipated that some of these persons would return – in particular those who had arrived in the city relatively recently – for those who had established and made a life in the city over several years, such a return was neither certain nor appealing. In addition, it would still take some time for rural areas and the small towns of the hinterland to recover from the long years of conflict and destruction. The results of the survey carried out for my PhD showed that 75.3% (125) of the respondents who had been migrants had no intention to return home. As Table 4 shows, the main reason for not returning home relates to the fact that people have no family left in their home places,

[19] The word *musseque* is related to the red sandy soils of the areas where *musseques* are often located in Luanda (de Carvalho, 1997). The word *musseque* derives from *Kimbundu*, the language spoken by the Ambundu ethnic group that occupies mainly the provinces of Luanda, Bengo, Malange and Kwanza Norte. In Kimbundu, the words *mu seke* mean "sandy soil" (*Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, 2006, my translation).

either because the entire family has, over time, left their rural homes, or because they have in the meantime formed a family in Benguela. However, we should also note that the second most important reason refers to the migrants' desire to live now in the city.

Table 4: Reasons for not Returning Home

	n	%
Have no family there / has made family in Benguela	60	48.0
Now I want to live in the city	27	21.6
Lost everything / Evreything is destroyed	15	12.0
I and family used to living in Benguela / rebuilt life	8	6.2
Here I have a job	7	5.6
It is not my home / I don't know that place /	2	1.6
Other	5	4.0
No answer	1	0.8
Total	125	100.0

So, it seemed plausible to suppose that considerable numbers of these refugees would remain in the city. If many war-displaced people are not likely to return to their rural homes and ways of life, it is important to understand the conceptual frameworks through which they understand the city, how they perceive their place in the city and how they enact those perceptions in their practice.

During the war, most information on war-displacement was produced by humanitarian agencies. This information and the debate it generated tended to emphasise the humanitarian crisis and the immediacy of "survival strategies" of war-displaced people, especially of those staying in "displaced camps". It also tended to produce images which accounted for neither the complexity and the diversity of war-displaced people themselves nor of the experience of war-displacement.[20] For example, war-displacement has been often portrayed as an exodus en masse from rural localities caught in the violence of war (see for example Richardson, 1999), to bigger Angolan towns such as Luanda and Benguela. While this was sometimes the case,[21] people left their homes not only because they had been directly attacked but also because there was a widespread feeling of insecurity that was provoked by attacks on neighbours or on neighbouring localities. Some people left their

[20] See for example documents such as the United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeals for Angola and the regular reports on the humanitarian situation in Angola produced by the UN office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) in Angola during the period of the war.
[21] Especially in periods of particularly violent and large-scale conflict, such as those at the end of 1992 and during most of 1993.

villages because the basis for their livelihood had been destroyed and they could no longer sustain material lives in their villages. Families gradually left their village to settle in neighbouring small towns which were safer or provided more economic opportunities. Sometimes, people would stay with family or friends for some time in neighbouring small towns hoping that the situation in their village would improve and that they would be able to return to their homes. Thus, war-displaced people often followed intricate routes before finally settling. This was particularly the case in Angola, as there were several periods of both conflict and apparent peace during more than twenty-five years of war. Some individuals and families were displaced several times; sometimes between the same locations, other times going through several "steps of displacement".[22]

While recognising that food aid and displacement camps are absolutely necessary and need full attention in times of strong humanitarian crisis, some studies show that only a minority of war-displaced people in Angola were received in "displacement camps" (Robson and Roque 2001; Andrade, Carvalho and Cohen, 2001; Channel Research Ltd, 2004). When they arrived in urban areas, the great majority of war-displaced people were housed by families and/or friends in the cities to which they had migrated. The results of a survey carried out during my fieldwork show that almost 69.9% (116) of migrant respondents were received by families and friends, while only 3.0% (5) had gone to displaced camps; 19.9% (33) had rented a house.[23] When I started this study, very little was known about war-displaced people who had not passed through camps and about the processes followed for establishing themselves in towns: What they had done upon arrival in town? What opportunities had been offered to them, how and with what resources were they able to seize them? And so on. So, this study sought initially to uncover the mechanisms used by war-displaced people to establish themselves and build a life in Benguela. In her book on Burundian Hutu refugees in Tanzania, Malkki (1995) notes also the difference between refugees in camps and refugees who established themselves in town. Her study is on the construction of consciousness and identity, and she stresses also how, unlike refugees in camps, town refugees sought assimilation and "tended to pragmatically manage a series of identities in preference to a primary self-definition as refugees (…)" (p.153).

As my study shows, the experience of displacement and establishment in urban areas is not marked only by material struggles and the immediacy of the events in terms of the conflict,

[22] For accounts on the complexity of war-displacement in Angola, see for example Robson and Roque (2001); Andrade, Carvalho and Cohen (2001); Birkeland (2000 and 2001; Channel Research Ltd (2004).
[23] In his book *In Search of Cool Ground*, Allen (1996) notes also how, in general, few displaced people stay in humanitarian camps and how little they are in reality dependent on assistance from humanitarian agencies which is in many case "an additional bonus rather than the basis of their livelihood" (p.9).

displacement camps, humanitarian aid, and so on. When establishing themselves in town, rural war-displaced people had not only to deal with material challenges, but had also to confront and engage with social and historical constructions of rural–urban relationships and of the urban space. These constructions and classificatory schema were so naturalised in everyday life and came up so often in conversations and descriptions of everyday rhythms and struggles that they quickly became the focus of my research.

The experiences of the people I met in Calombotão allow me to explore in particular the dichotomous categories of "*mato* (bush) and *cidade* (city)" and "*avanço* (advancement) and *atraso (*backwardness)", developed and non-developed, which are often used to describe rural–urban relationships and which are strongly entrenched in Angola. This dualist view of rural–urban relationships is underpinned by an evolutionary relationship in which the city is seen as the apex of development. I also demonstrate how these categories may frame possibilities, choices and strategies for action through war-displacement and migration journeys from rural to urban areas.

Dualist categories are also used to describe Angolan towns, distinguishing what is referred to as the "centre", "the urbanised town" and the product of the "colonial town" from the "periphery" and the "sub-urbanised town" with precarious and non-planned housing and poor services (Colaço, 1992; Amado, Cruz and Hakkert, 1992; Morais and Raposo, 2005; Raposo and Oppenheimer, 2007; Raposo and Salvador, 2007). This dualist description of Angolan urban space is most commonly expressed in the case of Luanda through the terms of *baixa* and *musseque* and in the case of Benguela through *cidade* and *bairro*.

In *Expectations of Modernity,* James Ferguson (1999) claims that ethnographic accounts of cities in southern Africa have, until recently, adhered to an evolutionary and dualist approach of social and cultural change. He notes the duality and evolutionism underpinning past approaches to social change (see for example, Mayer and Mayer, 1961; Epstein, 1967; Gluckman, 1961 and 1971; Mitchell 1956, 1962 and 1966; see also Chapter 3). Ferguson also points out how "pervasive" and "well entrenched" this dual and evolutionary perspective on social and cultural change is. Most of his Zambian informants used dual categories such as "village ways" and "town ways" to describe their lives and to discuss issues related to migration to urban spaces.

Following Bourdieu (1979, 1980), I argue that these dual categories function as "classificatory schemes", that is as socially and historically constructed and embodied structures of perception and appreciation that agents use to make sense of and to order the

outside world and which also shape social practice. The reason that specific "classificatory schemes" are so "well entrenched" is because, on the one hand, they have over time been incorporated and embodied by social agents who reproduce them and reinforce their effectiveness through using them, and, on the other hand, because classificatory schemes are sometimes institutionalised (through texts of law, school, church and other institutions), and therefore more strongly legitimised. I argue therefore in this thesis for the importance of history and social conditioning in the way we perceive and construct the outside world, and for the significance of historically shaped cultural categories, the symbolic order they construct and their effect on social practice.

My focus is therefore not on cultural or social patterns of everyday relationships. I look instead at historically shaped patternings (classificatory schemes) and at their effects on social practice. My emphasis is not on the description of social life in towns,[24] but on making explicit mechanisms of cognition and categorisation and how these shape social practice in urban areas.

In dealing with these issues I am very aware of the tendency towards dualism and evolutionism underlying the study of social change in African urban settings to which Ferguson (1999) refers and which I mention above. As Ferguson (1999: 86) points out,

> at the heart of the dualist paradigm is the idea [...] of a meeting, or a clash between two analytically distinct types of social and economic systems: on the one hand, the older, rural, 'tribal' system; on the other, a new, modern industrial system, usually associated with an 'urban way of life'.

In my view, the conception of this duality comes also from a colonial history and colonial framings of societies in colonised territories, which instituted an opposition between a modernity brought by colonial powers to a traditional way of life characteristic of colonized societies.

The pervasiveness of this dual view of African societies does not only permeate common language. For example, during the political and armed conflict of the 1990s in Angola, the duality urban-rural, tradition-modernity was often evoked in what Messiant (1994: 159) calls a "war of words and of sense". In this "war", MPLA was portrayed as elitist, urban, modern and Europeanised, and UNITA, on the contrary, as rural, traditional, and rooted on an "African way of life". So, in this way, the Angolan political landscape was also "dichotomised".

[24] For a discussion of different aspects of social life in African cities see for example Simone (2004); De Boeck and Plissart (2004) for an account of urban life and imaginary in Kinshasa; Rodrigues (2005) for descriptions of urban life in Luanda; Costa (2008) for descriptions of urban life in Maputo.

In the academic world, although, as Ferguson (1999) shows, there have been several attempts to go beyond dualist frameworks in the analysis of social change, it is as if this duality still haunts us - as if subtly, clandestinely, it inhabits also the social scientist's mind. It is the difficulty in completely "getting rid" of this dualist view that explains Rodrigues's (2005) reference to tradition and modernity in her thorough study of social life in *musseques* of Luanda. In her PhD thesis on the labour market and household strategies in Luanda, the author says that salaried work contributes to increasing social status and social differentiation that are both linked to a stronger association to modernity and urbanity (ibid: 177). While Rodrigues tries to identify "indicators of urbanity" defined by the individuals themselves, she also says that "urbanity integrates, most of the time and to different extents, 'traditional' elements, whose boundaries are not easy to identify" (ibid: 57, my translation). In my understanding of her text, Rodrigues tries to avoid what could be perceived as an "easy" association between modernity and urbanity – the author tries to show that urbanity does not necessarily mean modernity. But she still uses the categories "traditional" and "modern" in her explanation of what the social reality may be, as if it was possible to pick out from social reality elements which we could classify as "modern" on the one hand and as "traditional" on the other.

My informants did not use the dichotomy tradition-modernity to describe their lives. As I am aware of the strength of the dualist view, and in particular of the profound and powerful entrenchment of the dichotomy "tradition – modernity" to explain social change, I tried not to use those words in conversations with my informants, and not to think about those concepts in descriptions of their lives. In order to think beyond dualist explanations framed by the debate around tradition and modernity, I decided to plunge into empirical reality and listen to what people say about their lives (Cooper, 2005). So, I paid attention to people's emic descriptions of empirical reality and tried to uncover categories behind the description of that reality and the logic behind those categories. I tried to identify which words people use – to describe their perceptions; to express their aspirations; and to describe what they would like to be, to achieve, to become – and to understand how these words are used, what objects and practices they conceal, and what they signify.

My approach has been to listen to how people describe their lives and the lives of others in order to understand how they apprehend and categorise the world surrounding them. I try to uncover the categories with which they deal with the urban reality, and the logic underpinning the use of those categories. It is true that people often do describe reality in dual categories – *bairro* and *cidade*, *avançado* and *atrasado*, for example. But my project has not been to

transform these categories into analytical devices. As I say above, my project has been to show that these words function as historically constructed "classificatory categories" through which social actors structure the world and their practice. However, as I show, while *bairro*, *cidade*, *avançado*, *atrasado* cannot be used as analytical categories, the history of these categories and the "social-logic" behind them helps understanding people's motivations and behaviour in the way they conduct their lives.

In addition, as I also show, while the structuring and representation of the outside through dichotomies may be traced back in Angolan history, these categories are neither rigid nor immutable through time. Although categories' labels may remain the same, the content of these categories, that is the objects and practices that are associated with these categories, may be fluid, contradictory and ambiguous and may also change over time (Sahlins, 1985). Also, a careful discussion of these dual categories may make explicit other categories, such as *bairros quase cidade* (*bairros* almost *cidade*) in the dichotomy *bairro* and *cidade*, which I explore in particular in this thesis.

Looking at the case of Benguela, I argue that *cidade* and *bairro* have become embodied classification devices with strong symbolic and structuring power, carrying other meanings and associations that also serve classificatory functions. This means that objects, practices and people which can be associated with *cidade* become valued as a result and devalued if they are associated with the category *bairro*. It is true that in some works of music and of literature, *bairro* may also be portrayed as place of creativity, invention, innovation and as a site of warm and lively lifestyle[25] similar to the "urban space" described by de Certeau (1990). I do not ignore the contribution that these accounts make to the symbolic power of labels such as *cidade* and *bairro* and the opportunity they may provide to render more positive the symbolic power of the label *bairro*. However, my experience as a *citadina* (a resident of a *cidade*) and a social researcher in Angolan urban areas has led me to consider the weight and sometimes the exclusionary impact of the symbolic power of these categories. I choose to shed light on how, despite the joy and the creativity of *bairros* highlighted in these songs, the making of proper persons and of proper lives has remained very much dependent on things perceived as "of the *cidade*", things the lack of which would, as Antonieta said to me, "leave one out a little". I argue that, for historical reasons reinforced by the long years of war and by the destruction of rural life over time, for many Angolans the notion of a proper life corresponds to imaginings of a life of *cidade*.

[25] See in particular the prose of Luandino Vieira and António Cardoso, and some of the poems of Agostinho Neto and Viriato da Cruz on Luanda; and of Aires de Almeida Santos and Ernesto Lara Filho on Benguela. For music, see many of the songs of famous bands such as "Os Kiezos" and "Ngola Ritmos", and of composers and singers of *semba* (an urban music style) such as Bonga, Paulo Flores, Carlos Burity and others.

I also argue that the symbolic power of *cidade* is predicated on historical social, economic, cultural and political relationships with "development". *Cidade* appears as the place where development happens. But the notion of "development" that emerges has a double connotation: it signifies both access to a materially easier life (material development) and to ways of life perceived as being of "superior condition", that is, as *avançados* (advanced, developed). Inspired by Bourdieu (1979: 280) I call this "ontological" development. As a result, *cidade* is not only the place where it is possible to live a proper material life, but it is also the place where one becomes a proper person.

If *cidade* is the place where one can live a proper life, what my informants in Calombotão called an "organised life" seemed to constitute the path towards achieving proper lives. Two elements seemed to be crucial in the creation of an "organised life". First, an organised house, that is, a brick and cement house built, spacious, furnished and filled with appliances. Second, a permanent waged job in the formal sector (the state administration or the private sector). An organised life therefore encompasses the security and comfort of material objects and a permanent waged job allowing for the purchase of that material security.

However, in this thesis I look at homes and their material culture as possessing agency, that is, as producing meanings that go beyond their material functionality, meanings grounded in social and historical relationships (Miller, 1998 and 2001). Homes, furniture and appliances are not only functionally useful but have also symbolic value; they communicate a sense of "propriety" about their owners (Meintjes, 2000 and 2001; Yose, 1999; Ross, n.d. and 2005). Meintjes, for example, relates the struggle for "properly furnished homes" to a desire to communicate the absence of poverty and a sense of dignity about these homes and their owners.

I argue further that an organised life guarantees and demonstrates that one's life has developed, that one's life is that of *avanço*. In other words, the material components of an "organised life" provide for a materially developed life but signify also ontological development. And since the making of houses can also signify the making of people (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995), through struggling for an organised life people are also struggling to construct and represent themselves as developed. An organised life participates in the social construction of both a proper life and of developed persons.

Finally, I should stress the importance of history and historically inspired approaches in this thesis. Since my work is strongly based on Bourdieu's approach and argues for the

importance of social conditioning in the formation of sociocultural categories which shape the way one perceives and structures the outside world and which affect one's social practice and for the importance of historically built social, economic and cultural relationships in shaping processes of social conditioning, I seek to uncover and describe significant historical processes. For this reason, the thesis begins with an overview of the history of Benguela over the last century, which provides the grounds for a better understanding of the structuring of space in the city of Benguela; of the entrenchment of norms of spatial organisation; of the symbolic power of classificatory categories such as *cidade* and *bairro* and the historical relations that underlie these dichotomies; and of the historically built relationships that underpin notions of *avanço* and *atraso* and conceptions of a "proper life".

As I argue for the importance of history, this thesis draws extensively on two biographies, themselves situated within the broader research I conducted, to explore issues related to rural-urban migration, war-displacement and paths of upward social mobility towards material development and *avanço*. However, I am aware that biography cannot be treated as "a neutral, transparent window into history" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 26). I am also well aware of the "biographical illusion" (Bourdieu, 1987 and 1992), of the risk of finding "the motors of the past and present in rational individualism" and of the need to pay attention "to the social and cultural forms that silently shape and constrain human actions" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 26). As a result, I partially ground the explanation of Manuela and João's choices and strategies in history and in the social, economic and cultural structures which have underpinned their lives.

The trajectories of João Fortunato and Manuela's families offer interesting examples of connections between "individuals and events" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 26). Their stories describe two specific and distinct cases of colonial encounter, of interaction between individuals and institutions belonging to different degrees to a colonial endeavour and to African society. The stories of these families show also two distinct but paradigmatic mechanisms of upward social mobility within the region, both during and after the Angolan colonial period: while the story of João's family highlights the role of education and of migration to the *cidade* for upward social mobility and *avanco*, Manuela's family's story shows the role of inter-racial relations, and social and family connections in accessing a better life, in *avançar*. The life stories of these two families will also show how dreams of social upward mobility were underpinned by imaginings of the *cidade*. Close attention to these two life stories and the relationships entailed in each, carefully contextualised within broader historical and social trends, allows me to see the ways in which the relationships of *cidade* and *bairro* are contextualised within individual and familial lives. However, through

establishing relationships between these two life histories and overarching historical trends in Angola, I also show that crucial social mechanisms and events of those biographies reflect broader social trends in the Angolan society. In addition, life histories of and interviews with a range of informants in Calombotão and in other areas of Benguela allowed me to uncover similar patterns related to migration, relationship to education, labour strategies and so on.

Both Manuela and João present histories of change. If their journeys show how history, symbolic orders, and structural factors such as gender and race, weigh on possibilities for action, they also highlight the role of agency and of conjunctures (Bourdieu, 1980 and 2000; Johnson-Hanks, 2002), demonstrating how these can introduce new elements that make certain kinds of change possible. Tracing Manuela and João's trajectories allows me to discuss the possibility of change within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, which has often been critiqued for being too deterministic, placing too much weight on the role of structures on shaping social agents' behaviour and for not granting enough attention to the role of individuals' agency (de Certeau, 1990; Ortner, 2005). The discussion emphasises the role of conjunctures and the ways in which they allow individuals to enact the vision they have for their lives. I argue that in a country which has been submitted for the last century to profound changes, several wars and various and important political, social and economic transformations, while the knowledge of history and major "macro-structures" is important, attention to conjunctures may render more comprehensible life trajectories, micro-practices (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 38) and changes experienced by particular individuals. Johnson-Hanks (2002) describes the concept of "vital conjuncture" which constitutes these moments during which the future is "under debate and up for grabs", and during which change is possible. Based on Bourdieu and Johnson-Hanks' arguments, I suggest in this thesis the idea of "transformative conjunctures", that is, of conjunctures providing the potential for change that can be "transformative". I argue that the concept of "transformative conjunctures" may be an important notion to make sense of life stories and individual trajectories, not only those of Manuela and João but of war-displaced people in general; that is, of people whose lives have been submitted to profound social crisis and abrupt contextual changes.

Methodology: on the "field", numbers and encounters

My home town as my 'field'

Benguela, the site of my study, is also my home town. I was born in Benguela, and although I have not lived there since 1979, when my family and I left to live in Luanda. My parents returned to that town in the 1990s and two of my siblings in 2005. They have since then been

living in Benguela with their families. During our time in Luanda, we retained ties with Benguela, visiting at least once or twice a year. My family's ancestors have been linked to Benguela and its hinterland since the end of the XIX century. As I sometimes say, I am the product of the colonial encounter. My father came from Portugal to Benguela as a young man after the Second World War. However, although he arrived in Benguela only in the 1940s, he came to join members of his family who had settled in the town at the end of the XIX century. My mother, who was born in Benguela, is the daughter of a Portuguese business man whose father was already a trader in Benguela and Catumbela at the end of the XIX century. Her mother was born in 1899 in Catumbela. Her mother's father was a White trader in the hinterland and her mother's mother was the daughter of a local chief from the region of Tchindjendje[26] in the hinterland of Benguela on the border with Huambo Province. As Chapter 2 will show, my personal history resonates with the history of the region. For example, associations through marital relationships between White traders (such as my maternal grandfather) and daughters of local chiefs were a relatively common practice in the trading relationships established in the region through the slave trade and to the trade of "colonial products" at the end of the XIX century.

In their book, *Anthropological Locations*, Gupta and Ferguson (1997) point to the importance of fieldwork in the construction of anthropological knowledge and how much the "field" has been constructed as a place that is far away from "home". The "field" has been constructed as this far away "taken for granted space" to which the anthropologist travels, where he/she meets an "other" culture or society, where he/she collects data and from which he/she departs to return "home" to write the thesis, the article or the book (ibid.). In my case, my field was located in my home town, in the place where I was born, where I had profound family connections, where I had spent my childhood and constructed my primary social relationships. Being Benguela my home town and its history so close to me, could it constitute a "proper" site of fieldwork for me – could it be "different enough"? As Gupta and Ferguson (ibid.) ask, can one "only encounter difference by going elsewhere" (p.8) "as if 'home', however defined, were not also a site of difference" (p.14)? As any other town, Benguela is a place of spatial, social and cultural difference. With this study I was precisely exploring the differences between areas of the town that are classified as *cidade* and areas that are classified as *bairro* which are perceived as very different*;* to go to the field, I would "travel" from *cidade* to *bairro*. But as my field experience showed to me, the construction and the experience of difference are always complex and produce sometimes startling results: *bairro* was eventually so much "home" that some of the "others" were almost my kin.

[26] There is today a small town in this region whose name is spelled *Quinjenje* in Portuguese.

But such profound familiarity could also constitute a trap - wasn't I too (socially) close to conduct good fieldwork? Living in New York, where she was also carrying out anthropological fieldwork, Joanne Passaro (1997) was asked whether she could really take the subway to go to the 'field'. Was she socially distant enough from her 'field'? The author appropriately notes that whether she was close enough was never an issue (p.153). Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 31) ask whether "growing up in a 'culture' [is] a heterodox form of 'fieldwork" – a "kind of extended participant observation"? My experience of fieldwork in Benguela showed to me that there were many advantages in being in the "field" at "home", even if I take out the many logistical and material obvious advantages for me.[27] First of all, as I explain below, my access to the field, to appropriate informants and to information was very much facilitated by my being from Benguela, by knowing the people, the institutions and the organizations that could help me and be useful for my study. I am aware that I would have probably never been able to establish the type of relationship I established with Manuela had I not been at "home". In addition, my social and culture background allowed me to almost intuitively grasp the hidden meaning of words, expressions and attitudes so important for the subject of my study. But in doing so, I have also always tried to be aware of my "social position" and of the implications it had for the way I grasped, understood and treated the information to which I was given access – I tried always keep a "sense of location" (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997), to remember that I had also been brought up as a person from the *cidade* and to challenge my own assumptions and taken-for-granted knowledge.

Doing fieldwork at home also raised ethical questions. For example, when I discovered that Manuela was Luis's wife, I suddenly realised that I was in possession of more than data. I knew more than what had been told to me, more than Dona Maria thought she had revealed. And, above all, I knew things about someone whom I did not know personally and who had not given those things to me; things that could be precious and delicate to her. For example, what if Manuela was ashamed of her life in the *bairro* and had hidden her origins and part of her life from Luis or from his family? If this was true, how would she react to someone who could be seen as being part of her husband's family knowing details of her life that she may have preferred to keep secret?

I had never met Manuela. She and Luis had met only a few years prior to my study, and I had not lived in Benguela for many years. After the revelation occasioned by the map drawn in the dust, it was clear that I had to look for Manuela as soon as possible. My initial intention

[27] It was only because I was at "home" and could stay with my parents and benefit from the multiform support of my family that I could carry out my fieldwork with very little financial support.

was just to tell her who I was and explain to her my work and why I had been visiting her mother. When I began visiting Manuela, we would simply chat about our lives and about people of our "common" family. However, during one of these conversations I realised that the life of her family was an excellent illustration of exactly what I was studying: forced displacement caused by war from a rural life to a life in an urban environment; the complex routes of war-displacement from a home submitted to violence to a final, safer destination after several steps of displacement; the movement from the loss of a home and of a stable material base to the multiple-faceted struggle for the material ground that allowed one to establish a new home somewhere else. Manuela's personal story, on the other hand, with her journey from a past in the *bairro* to a present in the *cidade,* could also help me understand the bases for the differences between the *cidade* and the *bairro*.

After some time and mutual agreement, Manuela became one of my main informants along with João Fortunato (see Chapter 6) and others, whose lives provide some of the threads of this thesis. It was the depth of the relationship established with Manuela and with some of my closest informants that, I am convinced, allowed me to reach, in my view, some of the most interesting conclusions discussed in this text.

From a household survey to encounters and conversations

I conducted my fieldwork from November 2004 to October 2005, followed by three months of archival research in Lisbon. Archival research in Lisbon, from October to December 2005 enabled me to access material and a wide range of works on the history of Angola which then allowed me to consolidate the historical approach on which this thesis is grounded.

The fieldwork began with a small, household, quantitative survey designed to provide preliminary socio-economic and demographic information on the neighbourhood. In addition to collecting basic information on social and economic variables (demographic characteristics, levels of education, family sources of income, etc), I also sought to ascertain whether the area had been subject to significant migrant population and, if this was the case, whether its residents had migrated to Benguela because of the war as well as examining in greater detail some of the characteristics of this probable migration – sites of origin, patterns of displacement, modes of establishment in Benguela, and so on.

The survey was carried out in Calombotão and in two adjacent neighbourhoods, Bairro Esperança and Bairro dos Morros, because at that moment I was still not sure whether to focus my research on Calombotão only, as opposed to including a more extensive area

where war-displaced people had settled, in order to construct a broader picture of war-displacement to Benguela. The questionnaire (Appendix 1) was applied to 198 households: 74 in Calombotão, 73 in Bairro Esperança and 51 in Bairro dos Morros.[28]

The quantitative survey was carried out with the support of ADRA (*Acção para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente*[29]), an Angolan NGO which has been working in Calombotão for a few years. One of the objectives of ADRA's work in Calombotão has been supporting local associations which can carry out various forms of social work in the neighbourhood. In Calombotão, ADRA worked with a local association which played a major role in my study. This association not only helped me to recruit local interviewers to carry out the survey, but, as I describe below, also offered other kinds of support for my fieldwork study in Calombotão throughout its duration.

After the survey, I started working in Bairro Calombotão. I chose to do my fieldwork in that neighbourhood because I hoped that the relationship I had established during the survey with the association of Calombotão would make the beginning of my anthropological fieldwork in the neighbourhood easier. In general, I used their small office as my "local station" in the neighbourhood. Every day, before walking around the neighbourhood, visiting people I had met, I would stop at this office, enter and chat for a few minutes with members of the association working there. The first residents of Calombotão I interviewed were members of the association, and members also introduced me to other Calombotão residents through whom I constructed a network of social relationships, some stronger than others. Fundamentally, by opening their office to me and by serving as initial intermediates in relationships with other residents, they helped to legitimize my presence in the neighbourhood and undoubtedly helped my fieldwork experience in Calombotão. After the first few interviews with association members, I was introduced to other residents of the neighbourhood, whom I started visiting, with whom I spent many hours in discussions and long conversations permeated with many questions.

These first interviews in Calombotão were for me a first step into anthropological fieldwork. Coming from the "development consultancy world", where research is usually done relatively quickly, with often little time to establish deep social relationships in studied areas and where research questions are normally straightforward and examine public dimensions of life (household economy, political participation, etc), I felt inadequate when starting to do

[28] The preferred respondent was the household-head and in his/her absence, the spouse or an adult older than 18 years old.
[29] Action for Rural Development and Environment.

anthropological fieldwork, and concerned that I would not be able to establish social relationships with residents of Calombotão which would be profound enough to get to know their lives. I feared that I would not be able to get to know "ordinary" residents of the neighbourhood, be invited to their homes or get to know the *substance* of the life in Calombotão. Furthermore, questions that had troubled me as a development worker in the past now returned to haunt me again: to "extract" information from people, I must develop relatively intimate relationships, but what did I have to offer in exchange?

The strong relationship I established with a few members of this association in Calombotão helped me overcome the fear of being unable to "connect". Some, such as João Fortunato who worked for this association, became valued informants with whom I often checked or clarified information collected through other people, in other parts of the neighbourhood. A migrant from the interior of Benguela Province, João Fortunato and his family story revealed important features of the history of migration within the region. João Fortunato is a thoughtful man whose observations about the *bairro* and the relationships between *bairro* and *cidade* and *cidade* and *mato* always shed interesting light on the issues of my study.

It was through one of the people introduced to me by members of the association of Calombotão that I met Dona Maria, Manuela's mother. As I explain above, Manuela became one of my most valued informants. Our "fictive kin connections" helped create trust between us and transformed our first contact into a real encounter. Many moments of our relationship were during my fieldwork marked by the rhythms of my research. However, those moments were also strongly marked by the intimacy created by our recently discovered kinship. As I discuss above, our relationship was always permeated by the tension resulting from our being "almost kin" and her being my informant.

An important moment of our common enterprise was a visit to the sites of her childhood, to Caviva, the rural area where she was born and from where her family had fled in 1981, and to Cubal, the nearest small town, to which they had first fled and where they lived for two years, the place where her father had died and where he was buried. The main purpose of the trip to Cubal was to visit the places of Manuela's past. However, that visit allowed me also to collect further information on social and economic life in small hinterland towns during the long years of civil war. In Cubal, I could also visit and interview João Fortunato's parents, as well as meet several other people who had also been war-displaced and had established themselves in Cubal. All this helped me enrich my understanding of migration and war-displacement in this region.

Thesis outline

Since the argument of this thesis is based on the importance of historically constructed social relationships and sociocultural categories, such as *bairro* and *cidade* and *avanço* and *atraso*, Chapter 2 provides an historical background to the city of Benguela over the last century, allowing for a better understanding of these categories and other issues that are discussed in subsequent chapters. In particular, the chapter offers the basis for understanding the relationship between classification of space and classification of social practices and categorisation of people. Chapter 2 is structured chronologically, beginning at the end of the slave trade, after 1850. For each of the historically defined periods, the chapter describes the economic life of Benguela and the social relationships within the town, as well as the organisation of urban space. The chapter includes a section on the Portuguese colonial system which is indispensable for grasping the social, economic, cultural and political relationships within the town after this system was established at the end of the XIX century.

Chapter 3 explores and discusses the dualist and evolutionary perspective of Angolan urban space expressed by the labels *bairro* and *cidade*. In this chapter, I argue that *bairro* and *cidade* function as classificatory schemes, and show how they operate. Trying to build concepts through emic descriptions of the reality, I explore how residents of Calombotão use the labels *bairro* and *cidade* – the meanings of these categories, the material basis on which these meanings rest and the symbolic power they convey. Through those descriptions, I seek to understand how residents of Calombotão perceive and therefore constitute the urban space. This allows me to explore the symbolic power of *bairro* and *cidade* and their relationship with propriety, material and "ontological" development, and the construction of personhood.

As I explain above, the thesis draws in particular on two social biographies. Chapter 4 offers the life trajectory of Manuela and of her family, the Silvas. Through their story, the chapter provides a concrete example of war-displacement. It traces the family's displacement journey and their struggles to establish themselves materially in the city of Benguela – where they lived upon their arrival, how they found a house, and what they did to access income for the family. Manuela's journey in particular provides an example of change and of upward mobility from *mato*, through *bairro* towards *cidade* and her struggle for propriety and a proper life. Her story also provides a rich illustration of the symbolic order created by these historically constructed sociocultural categories and demonstrates how they may frame choices and possibilities for action. Through Manuela's life trajectory, Chapter 4 discusses the importance of conjunctures in social change and introduces the concept of "vital conjuncture".

In this thesis, I say that residents of *bairros* in Benguela seek to achieve "organised lives" and I argue that the building of organised lives constitutes the path towards achieving proper lives. Chapter 5 describes the social practices and objects that make up an organised life. By examining the symbolic power of houses, furniture, appliances and permanent waged jobs, Chapter 5 explores the meaning and social role of an organised life. The chapter discusses the associations between an organised life, proper lives, *avanço* and development, and shows that, by building an organised life, residents of *bairros* are seeking to construct themselves as *avançados* and developed persons.

Chapter 6 describes the second biography upon which I draw. The life stories of João Fortunato and of his parents allow me to explore the relationship between Protestant missions, education, migration to the *cidade* and processes of upward social mobility. Complementing Manuela's story, the chapter explores the depth and power of imaginings of the *cidade* and demonstrates how, for historical reasons, becoming of the *cidade* corresponds in Angola to the project of becoming better, of becoming an *avançado* and as a result a proper person. Chapter 6 also compares the life trajectories of Manuela and João Fortunato and shows how, coming from different structural positions, Manuela and João Fortunato exemplify how to become a proper person in a context where propriety has been set by imaginings of "becoming of the *cidade*". These two life stories allow for a more profound exploration of possibilities for social change, from which I propose and describe the concept of "transformative conjunctures" introduced above.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I offer the conclusions of this thesis, where I describe the links and relationships between my theoretical approach inspired by Bourdieu (1979 and 1980 in particular), and the different sociocultural categories (*cidade, bairro, avanço, atraso*) and the concepts which I develop and / or discuss, such as material and ontological development, and vital and transformative conjunctures.

Chapter 2: Benguela 1850 to the Present: A Period of Profound Change

Following Bourdieu (1979 and 1980), I argue in this thesis for the importance of social conditioning on the way we perceive and construct the outside world and for the importance of historically constructed social, economic and cultural relationships in shaping processes of social conditioning. This chapter thus seeks to provide some historical background to Benguela over the last century, to enable a better understanding of the issues discussed in the following chapters. These include the structuring of space in the city of Benguela, the entrenchment of norms of spatial organisation, classifications and symbolic power of *cidade* and *bairro* and the historical relations that underlie these dichotomies, the relationships that underpin notions of *avanço* and *atraso* and conceptions of a "proper life".

The information to which I had access (mainly secondary information, local newspapers and laws on urbanism) does not always allow for a detailed historical analysis of how the town's urban space changed over time, in particular in relation to its *bairros*. Indeed, available information does not describe the history of the *bairros*, nor the inhabitants and their activities. Access to maps, in particular access to recent maps of the city of Benguela, was not always possible. However, a detailed discussion is not necessary here: the chapter offers an historical grounding for the discussions to be pursued later in the thesis.

As this chapter shows, greater spatial organisation in Benguela corresponded to efforts at marking greater social differentiation (Sapire and Bell, 1995; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1985) and therefore to modes of social categorisation. However, categories for classifying people depended, historically, on various socially defined characteristics such as race, social and economic status, relationship with the colonial society, as well as on politically and explicitly established categories such as *indigenas* and *civilizados* introduced by the Portuguese colonial system. This chapter also discusses how, based on all these different criteria, social categories for classifying people changed over time but with subtle synchronic variations.

The chapter is structured chronologically, beginning at the end of the slave trade, after 1850. For each of the historically defined periods the chapter describes the economic life of Benguela and the social relationships within the town as well as the organisation of its urban space. The chapter touches also upon the history of the Ovimbundu[30] who, as will be shown, played an important role in the history of the town. In addition, Ovimbundu or "ovimbudu-ized" people constitute today the majority of Benguela's population. The section on the

[30] The Ovimbundu, whose original territory is the Central Highlands, are the most populous ethnic group in Angola.

Portuguese colonial system does not refer exclusively to Benguela, but is indispensable for understanding the social, economic, cultural and political relationships within the town after this system was established at the end of the XIX century.

Benguela at the end of the period of colonial trade

The end of the lingering slave trade and the rubber boom

Until 1850, the economy of Benguela was based on the Atlantic slave trade, as this town was one of the main points from which thousands of slaves were shipped annually to the Americas. Freudenthal (2002) suggests that the renewed interest at the end of the XVII century in this colonial settlement at the south of the Kwanza River resulted from efforts to increase and diversify the areas from which slaves could be obtained to feed the labour needs of the sugar plantations in Brazil established in the middle of the XVI century. According to Miller (1988: 261), a few "Luso-African families" from Luanda, who controlled an important share of the slave trade in the capital, may have already established "small trading houses in Benguela by the middle of the seventeenth century". As described below, "Luso-African families" or families of *filhos do país* constituted an important segment of the population of Benguela and Luanda, and their descendents were very active in the social, economic and political life of these towns until the beginning of the XX century.[31]

The slave trade in Benguela was particularly connected to plantations in Brazil. Miller (1988: 468) indicates that "80 to 90 percent and more of the slaving in Benguela went to Rio de Janeiro". In the 1780s and 1790s "as many as 7,000–8,000 slaves boarded ships headed for Brazil each year" (Miller, 1988: 226). Slaves from Benguela were also sent to other parts of the world. At the height of the slave trade, currencies of diverse countries of the Atlantic circulated in the town – American dollars, Brazilian *patacas*, Spanish pesos (Freudenthal, 2002). Benguela's harbour was extremely active and some days a dozen boats of different nationalities were anchored in its waters (Dias, 1939). Some clandestine slave traffic did continue from Benguela and from other small coastal trading posts close by, prolonging

[31] With regard to the highly heterogeneous group that would come in the XX century to be termed *assimilados*, designation varies depending on the historical period and on the perspective of the author. Miller (1988), who studies the slave trade in Angola, uses the term Luso-African to refer to this group during the slave trade specifying that "the term *Luso-African* in Angola properly describes not just race or culture but also an economically specialized group of eighteen-century slave transporters and shippers. It includes immigrants from Europe who would cast their lots with locally born Angolans" (p.247). Dias (1983) describing the identity of this group at the end of the XIX century refers to the "creoles of Angola". Many Portuguese-speaking authors, such as Freudenthal (2002), use the term "*filhos do país*" to refer to the same group. This term was also used by the colonial administration of that period. I generally follow Freudenthal (2002) and will use the term "*filhos do país*" for the period that includes the end of the slave trade and continues up until the beginning of the XX century, and then change to "*assimilado*" when the term is officially introduced by the legislation. I use the term "Luso-Africans" when directly quoting Miller (1988).

profits for certain slave traders until the 1850s (Randles, 1968, cited in Messiant 1983 and Freudenthal, 2002); nonetheless, the abolition of the slave trade by Portugal in 1836 and its interdiction by Brazil in 1850 affected the social and economic life of Benguela profoundly.[32] It was during this period that the economy of Benguela (and of the colony) began to change. What would be called the legal trade in colonial products was about to start, with rubber playing a particularly significant role for Benguela.

The end of the slave trade led to the search for other tradable products, mainly wax, ivory, and later rubber, according to Childs (1949: 199),[33] who suggests that the declining economy of the coastal towns pushed many traders to the interior of the territory to look for trading opportunities other than slaves. The context increased economic opportunities in trade for the Ovimbundu, who were ready to seize them.

The Ovimbundu had been the main intermediaries in the slave trade with Benguela. Childs notes that, through their participation in the slave trade, the Ovimbundu were already becoming traders by the end of the XVIII century and so, when the rubber trade began, they were already prepared to take a lead role. Through their previous trading activities they had developed the appropriate organizational capacities and knowledge: they were accustomed to travelling long distances, they knew the interior of the territory very well, and they had been in contact with different people in different regions.[34] Through their strong commercial activities and migrations, the Ovimbundu and their influence had reached well beyond Angola's Central Highlands; their role in spreading the goods and uses of the outside world was significant. Indeed, Childs (1949: 179), speaks of the "Umbundu-ization" of many coastal towns, including Benguela, well beyond the original settlement area of the Ovimbundu.[35]

Although rubber was exported in small quantities from the end of the 1860s, Childs (1949) follows Bastos (1912) in situating the beginning of the rubber trade in 1874. This initiated a new era in Central African trade, with huge social and economic impact for Benguela and the

[32] In reality, the slave trade and slavery as a form of labour continued to exist in the Angolan territory until the beginning of the XX century (Messiant, 1983). Under the name of *serviçais* or *moleques*, many "freemen" continued to be brought to the coastal towns to be sold to individual families for domestic labour and to trading establishments in town, as well as, predominantly, being sent to cocoa plantations in São Tomé. Messiant (1983: 55) says that, on average, 4,000 *serviçais* were sent from Angola to São Tomé each year.

[33] In 1834 the Portuguese royal treasury's monopoly of the ivory trade ended, allowing individual traders to start trading in ivory. Childs (1949: 200) notes that this contributed to maintaining the slave trade, as slaves were used to carry the ivory to the coast and then were later sold there.

[34] Childs (1949: 203) points out that "there were hardly any territories within the bounds of the Congo River, the Lakes and the Kalahari Desert which [Ovimbundu] had not penetrated". He gives the example of two Ovimbundu traders working for Silva Porto who reached as far as the mouth of Rovuma River.

[35] As I describe later in the chapter, the "umbundu-ization" of coastal towns would further increase after World War II, the economic boom and the strong migration into the region that the post-war boom encouraged.

Angolan Central Highlands. Long caravans, sometimes of thousands of people, arrived in Benguela and Catumbela[36] with rubber, wax, and ivory to be traded (Bastos, 1912, Childs, 1949 and Messiant, 1983). Some were owned by Ovimbundu kings and chiefs, others were owned by Benguelan traders. Following Bastos (1912), Childs (1949) divides the rubber trade into three periods: the beginnings around 1874, during which relatively small amounts of first-class rubber, collected from the plants in forest regions of the interior, were exported; a second period from 1886, when second-class rubber (red-rubber), prepared from roots and collected in less distant regions, was discovered, leading to a great boom that lasted until 1900; and a period of decline after 1900 and lasting until 1916, when Angola stopped exporting rubber, which was now sourced, in better quality, from other parts of the world.

Initially, rubber was simply one product among others, hardly more profitable than beeswax (Childs, 1949). It was after 1886 that rubber became practically the sole export of Benguela District (Bastos, 1912). The rubber trade had a huge impact on the demographic composition of Benguela as it encouraged immigration from Portugal, leading to an increase of the town's white population. On the Ovimbundu side, Childs (1949: 209) refers to the "fever of the red-rubber" which mobilised the whole of Ovimbundu society. The rubber trade brought huge wealth to Ovimbundu kingdoms (Edwards, 1962) with impact on all other activities: no porters were available, and there were few pupils in the mission schools, established in 1881, and fewer soldiers for the Ovimbundu armies (Childs, 1949).

However, the end of the XIX century was also a period of great change in Africa in general and of the consolidation of colonial power. The Berlin Conference, where the various colonizers agreed on the division of Africa between themselves, took place in 1884. The Portuguese government received the British Ultimatum in 1890[37] and was under great pressure to secure Portugal's colonial presence in Africa. In 1890, the Portuguese colonial army occupied the Ovimbundu Kingdom of Bihe. In 1902, Ovimbundu groups directed several uprisings against Portuguese traders, accusing them of abuses, especially related to recruitment of contract labour. This revolt led to the "Bailundu Campaign" by the colonial

[36] One of the direct effects of the rubber trade was the birth of Catumbela, currently a small town located some twenty kilometres north of Benguela. What was until the mid-XIX century an insignificant settlement grew into a small town with the rubber trade. Many of the residents of Catumbela were families that had left Benguela as Catumbela developed. As the two towns shared the same economic activity at that time (exports of "colonial products", in particular rubber) as well as many families, it is plausible to suppose that the social life of the two towns was similar.

[37] The British Ultimatum, delivered to the Portuguese government in January 1890, demanded that Portugal withdraw from the territory situated between Angola and Mozambique, which Portugal claimed on the famous "Pink Map". On this map Portugal claimed in addition to what is today Angola and Mozambique most of the territories that became later Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. The fact that Portugal accepted the British Ultimatum led to vigorous popular protests in Portugal, the fall of the government and the weakening of the monarchy.

army and to the occupation of the remaining Ovimbundu territories by the Portuguese administration (see Childs, 1949; Edwards, 1962; Wheeler & Christensen, 1973).

The 1902 war paralysed the rubber trade and greatly aggravated the depression that the district of Benguela was already experiencing as a result of the fall in the price of rubber, from the highs of 1898–99: "it was the beginning of the end" (Childs, 1949: 211). Rubber prices did not regain their former level when, in 1904, the war finished. The establishment of rubber plantations in the East Indies and South America and on the coast of West Africa led to the devaluation of the native-produced wild rubber of Angola. Small exports continued until 1916, but the great rubber trade was over. Until 1911, Ovimbundu caravans still came to Benguela and to Catumbela, but in smaller numbers and making lower profits. The great hunger of 1911,[38] together with the construction of the Benguela Railway, begun in 1904 and reaching Huambo in 1912, put an end to the trading caravans. In any case, as Childs (ibid.) notes, the Ovimbundu were losing control over the trade in the hinterland, and the number of European trading establishments in the highlands was increasing. The economy of the city of Benguela took more than twenty years to recover from the rubber trade's demise. At the same time, Benguela society was changing significantly in other ways.

A socially and racially interwoven society

As the economy of Benguela was totally dependent on trade, almost all of its residents were traders or in one way or another. At the end of the slave trade, the number of residents of Benguela who had come from abroad (from Portugal or Brazil, mainly) was very small. Many of these were *degredados* (criminal and political convicts deported to Angola) who had managed to survive the insalubrious conditions of the town.[39] The Benguela of that period was described as an ugly and desolate place; as a "human butcher" (Freudenthal, 2002); and as a "sink of disease for Portuguese from the metropole" (Miller, 1988: 254). Many of the slave traders living or passing through Benguela were primarily motivated by the trade and the possibility of making a quick fortune and then being able to leave Benguela for Brazil or Portugal as soon as possible.

The main axis of social differentiation in Benguela, a town profoundly marked by slavery and by colonial occupation, was between "freemen" and slaves, on the one hand; and, on the other, between a group labelled Portuguese and also *civilizados,* and a group designated as

[38] In 1911, the "great hunger" hit the Ngangela territory in the east of Angola, another rubber-–collecting region. Many Ovimbundu died of hunger on the trading journey, since their caravans relied on buying most of the food they needed on the way (Childs, 1949: 212).

[39] According to Lopes de Lima, in 1845 the white population of Benguela was no more than forty people.

gentio or also *indigenas* (indigenous), comprising the slaves and members of African groups living around Benguela and in the hinterland. (Freudenthal, 2002; Dias, 1983).[40] However, it is difficult to evaluate the size of these two groups, both because there is great variation in the numbers presented by different authors and because the modes of classification of individuals varied over time, demonstrating the complexity and the heterogeneity of both groups (see Appendix B for a discussion on these modes of classification). For example, Lopes de Lima (1846) estimates the population of Benguela in 1845 to be 2,438 individuals (see Table 5). However, as Table 6 shows, other sources estimate the population of the town to be, in 1861, 4,000 individuals. In addition, while Lopes de Lima, a traveller and therefore an outsider to this society, categorises the population on the basis of race and on the division "freemen and slaves", the *Boletim da República*, which is an official publication of the colonial administration uses categories based on nationality instead – *filhos do país*, Portuguese and foreigners.

Table 5: Population of Benguela in 1845

Population of Benguela in 1845		
Whites	39	1.6%
Mestiços	179	7.3%
Blacks	2220	91%[41]
free men: *slaves::*	*1070* *1150*	
Total	2,438	100%

Source: Lopes de Lima, 1946[42]

Table 6: Population of Benguela in 1861

Population of Benguela in 1861		
Filhos do país	3847	96.2%
Portuguese	126	3.2%
Foreigners[43]	16	0.4%
Others	11	0.2%
	4,000	

Source: Boletim Oficial 27, 1863

It is probable that the category of "Portuguese" in *Boletim da República* includes non-whites and that the category of *filhos do país* includes racially mixed individuals as well.[44] What seems to be clear, nonetheless, is that this heterogeneous *civilizado* group, who differentiated themselves from what they perceived as the *gentio* population, was very small.

[40] The original meaning of *gentio* in Portuguese relates to religion. It is used to refer to pagans or to those who are not Christians or Hebrews. Originating from the work *genitivu* in Latin, it may also mean "native" (*Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, 2006, Porto Editora). Later, in Angola, this word came to be used colloquially for a person who does not know how to behave properly in society.

[41] Of these, 48.2% were free and the rest were slaves.

[42] These sources (*Boletim Oficial* and Lopes de Lima) were cited in notes compiled and given to me by Aida Freudenthal.

[43] My source did not specify who the foreigners were. These are likely to have been non-Portuguese individuals integrated in the trade in Benguela; some of them may have been Brazilians.

[44] The heterogeneity and complexity of the Angolan urban society of the XIX century is also implicit in Bastos' very detailed *Monographia da Catumbella* (1912). To describe the residents of this settlement, the author uses several terms: Europeans, *filhos do país*, *filhos da terra* (these seem to be the racially mixed families), indigenous, *gentio* and *gentio* from the hinterland. Although Bastos' focus is Catumbela, the information on the social life of the settlement can probably be extended to Benguela in the same period.

In reality, until the beginning of the XX century many of the residents of Benguela, and in particular many of the members of its elite belonged to families of *filhos do país.*[45] This fairly heterogeneous group was composed of racially and culturally mixed families who had built their prosperity on the slave trade. During the height of the slave trade, *filhos do país* controlled an important share of the trade, as they owned and transported many of the slaves to the coastal towns of Luanda and Benguela and to other seaports. Miller (1988) distinguishes the Angolan "Luso-African families" from other, similar groups in other African countries by their retaining ownership of slaves sent to Brazil and sold there for money: "They combined characteristically African dealings in slaves and trade goods in the interior with a European-like stake in the monetized economy of the Portuguese empire" (Miller, 1988: 246). They later withdrew from their share of the Atlantic monetized economy and concentrated on internal investment in land and slaves, which, as Miller (ibid.) demonstrates, would render their economic and social position more fragile by the end of the XIX century. Miller (1988) argues that they eventually became "casualties of merchant capital".

The first families of *filhos do país* were formed in and around Luanda during the XVII century as a result of relationships between the first Portuguese men established in Angola and African women (Dias, 1983 and Miller, 1988). Marriages and various forms of stable relationships between white male immigrants and African women were quite common until the beginning of the XX century. There were very few white female immigrants in Angola until that period.[46] The community of *filhos do país* was continuously fed by new immigrants from Europe and Brazil who either established relationships with Angolan-born women in Luanda or Benguela or moved to the interior of the colony where they would melt into other existing communities of *filhos do país*. These men generally married either women of *filhos do país* groups or the daughters and nieces of their African business partners (Miller, 1988).

Families of *filhos do país* therefore formed extended networks that included individuals living in Luanda, in the hinterland of this town and in Benguela who were traders or occupied positions in the colonial administration, the colonial army and the clergy, and also other *filhos do país*, who were *pombeiros* and *aviados*[47] in the interior of the territory and who had

[45] This group of families existing in Benguela and Luanda and in the hinterland, especially along the axis Luanda-Pungo Andongo has been described by several authors. For detailed descriptions of this social group in different historical periods see Dias, 1983; Wheeler and Pelissier, 1971; Miller, 1988.

[46] According to Dias (1939: 26), in 1840 only one white woman lived in Benguela. *O amor a 12 graus latitude sul*, a novel written by Ralph Delgado (1925), mentions how few white women lived in Benguela at the beginning of the XX century.

[47] *Pombeiros* (traders in the hinterland), *aviados* (traders employed by someone else) and *funantes* (traders in remote areas; a term originating in the Kicongo word *mfúnu* which means "trade" – *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, 2006, Porto Editora) were terms designating men who were sent to the hinterland to trade for slaves and later for other products.

established close associations with local chiefs and kings (Miller, 1988, Freudenthal, 2001). This group was fairly heterogeneous. Referring mostly to Luanda and its hinterland, Dias (1983: 65 and 66) divides this group[48] into four segments. On the wealthy extreme was "a more westernised group", an old, educated aristocracy formed by a few families founded as early as the XVII century and frequently fed with immigrants coming from Portugal and Brazil. This older group was nourished by a more recent group of families resulting from new generations of unions between a European father and an African mother, in many cases "the concubine or the slave of a white trader or civil servant". A third category comprised a group of families concentrated in the administrative and trading centres of the hinterland, which were fed less by white immigration and which had closer relationships with the African chieftaincies. Some of these families were linked to families in Luanda and Benguela. Finally, the "lowest" part of the *filhos do país* group was composed of artisans (carpenters, stone-masons, tailors, shoe-makers, and so on) and individuals who had generally adopted some European ways of living, such as dress.[49]

So the *civilizado* elite was formed by a few Europeans, a few Brazilians and, the majority, important families of *filhos do país*. This elite was composed mainly of traders, some of whom possessed land, and members of the clergy, the army and the colonial administration. Given the limits of current historical knowledge, it is difficult to assess the exact dimensions of the social, economic and political power of the families of *filhos do país* in Benguela (Freudenthal, 2002). However, Freudenthal states that their importance in the government of Benguela District, in the administration of the municipality, in the army and in the judiciary is unquestionable (p. 9). A group of less prominent members of *filhos do país* – skilled workers, employees in trading houses and *pombeiros* and *aviados* of major traders – were considered to belong to the group of *civilizados*. However, as some members of both *civilizados* and *gentio* groups were also members of large social and family networks that could spread from the elite of Benguela to *pombeiros* in the hinterland and to Ovimbundu groups, it is probable that the boundaries between the groups were porous and that the application of these classificatory categories was not always simple. Describing the Catumbela of the 1850s, Bastos (1912) mentions the family Sant'Annas, a wealthy *filho do país* family that owned of large areas of land. The Sant'Annas' local name, Cangato, was taken as the name of an

[48] As mentioned before, Dias refers to this group as the "creole elite".

[49] Many authors (Childs, 1949; Edwards, 1962; Messiant, 1983) refer to a group of people called Kimbaris, Quimbares, Vimbali, Ovimbali or Mbali. This term, which could be used pejoratively, seems to designate black individuals who were not perceived as belonging to the group of *civilizados* (that is, they did not belong to the elite of *filhos do país*) but who, because they had served that elite (as slaves for example) or had lived in towns for long-time, had adopted "white" ways of living and of behaving. Pepetela (1985) in *Yaka*, a novel about Benguela, refers to Vimbali and to Quimbares as individuals who "imitate the whites", who could often read and write and who seemed to be intermediaries in the trade and could be heading trading caravans.

indigenas neighbourhood of Catumbela of that time, whose residents were "family members, creoles and *serviçais*" of the Sant'Annas (Bastos, 1912: 10, my translation). It is therefore possible that some family members of the urban elite lived in *cubatas* (huts) and in *sanzalas*[50] where the population classified as *gentio* usually lived.

All of this shows that while the urban society of Benguela was structured broadly into two major categories, *civilizados* and *gentio*, these categories were not, at that time, strictly based on race. *Civilizados* were distinguished, broadly, from *gentio* according to the characteristics that would later legally enforce this difference: a command of the Portuguese language; social behaviour and the extent to which individuals were "detribalised" (the way they dressed, whether they were Christians, where they lived, how their house was built, and so on); and the fact that they had a regular job or a regular source of income (Duffy, 1962; Wheeler and Pélissier, 1971; Messiant, 1983).

But at the end of the XIX century, the demographic composition of the territory and of the town changed rapidly. The rubber trade triggered immigration of white men in particular, mainly from Portugal and Brazil (Bastos, 1912; Delgado, 1944; Freudenthal, 2001). This, together with imminent changes in the colonial legislation, would bring important political and social changes in the country. And Benguela was no exception.

Cubatas*, adobe and* quintais*: Social diversity and the structure of town space*

Until the beginning of the XX century, mortality rates in Benguela were very high. Disease and death rates in the city were attributed to hot temperatures and to the humidity of the swamps surrounding the town, as it was located between two rivers, Cavaco[51] and Coringe. However, the town was also extremely insalubrious, because of the conditions under which slaves were kept inside high-walled *quintais*. *Quintal* (plural *quintais*) means "backyard" in Portuguese. However, during the slave trade, *quintais* referred also to the large areas surrounded by very high walls which served as "slave pens" for the hundreds of slaves waiting to be shipped (Miller, 1988). These high-walled *quintais* are referred as a characteristic of Benguela of that period.[52] In *Yaka*, Pepetela (1985) speaks about "Benguela

[50] The word s*anzala* comes from Kimbundu and means small population settlement, village (Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa 2006, Porto Editora)
[51] Called Marimbombo at that time.
[52] No attention was paid to the hygienic conditions of these *quintais* where up to 400 slaves could be amassed (Freudenthal, 2002), and where they were sometimes quartered with pigs and goats (Miller, 1988: 391). Corpses of slaves who had died of exhaustion, of hunger or from being submitted to the terrible conditions of the slave pens were simply abandoned in the bushes near the Coringe River until a cemetery for *indigenas* was built in 1801 (Freudenthal, 2002 and Delgado, 1944). The stench hovering above the city as a result of this mixture of decomposing bodies and debris was intense (Delgado, 1944).

of the *quintalões* [large *quintais*]" where slaves, watched by *Vimbali* [see footnote *49*] were gathered before being shipped (p.25, my translation).

Profoundly marked by the slave trade and by the inconstancy of its transitory population, the growth of Benguela had followed no urban or architectural plan. Most of the houses were built wherever space was available, their owners seeking only to be located as close as possible to the entrance points of the trade from the *sertão* (the hinterland) (Delgado, 1944). As a result, most houses in Benguela were built away from the sea, as if anxiously facing the routes from the hinterland from where the products of the trade would arrive. These houses were built of unstable or temporary materials, such as adobe and grass, revealing the transitory presence of many of their owners, who, as soon as they were able, would leave for Brazil or Portugal, leaving their abandoned houses to crumble. So, at the end of the slave trade the town looked abandoned and decaying. In 1846, Lopes de Lima described Benguela as a "miserable town of a few more than 600 houses" (in Dias, 1939: 16 my translation).

The social differentiation between *civilizados* and *gentio* was illustrated in the spatial structure of the city. In the 1840s, one element in this spatial division was the commercial area, where the offices of Portuguese administrative authorities were located along with the hospital, the main church and the houses of the wealthiest traders (Freudenthal, 2002). Most of the houses of its elite were one-storey buildings made of adobe (mud-bricks). In Benguela today there are still some old adobe houses and, as we will see in Chapter 5, in many *bairros* of the *cidade*, adobe is the most common building material. In descriptions of the *cidade* of the end of the XIX century, the use of adobe instead of stone is noted as an unpleasant feature of house construction, one that needed to be changed. In 1860, all privately owned houses were built of adobe (Delgado, 1944). Delgado (p. 37) refers to adobe as "the eternal evil" and complains about the ugliness of adobe-made houses and about the pits left in the city from digging to make adobe-bricks.

The majority of the population lived in *cubatas*, forming vast neighbourhoods that were called *sanzalas* (see footnote 50). Until the middle of the XIX century, no neat distinction existed between the commercial zone and the *sanzalas*. Several authors describing Benguela of the XIX century refer to *cubatas* and *sanzalas* scattered among the houses in the commercial and administrative area, built in the numerous empty areas of the town behind the high walls of the *quintais* (Delgado, 1944, citing the narrative of Serpa Pinto and Capello and Ivens, travellers in the region in the 1870s).

This dual social differentiation was also revealed in the way Benguela residents were buried. By the end of the slave trade, there were two cemeteries in Benguela: one built in 1801, where the *indígenas* population was buried and the second, built from 1838 onwards, to be used by "Europeans" (Delgado, 1944: 85). Until that date, people who were considered "Europeans" were buried in the backyard of the churches. However, given the heterogeneous racial composition of the elite of the town, it is very probable that, by "Europeans", Delgado refers to *fillhos do país* as well as to those from Europe.

As the slave trade declined, the city of Benguela appeared so physically decayed that in 1842 the Governor proposed that it be moved to Catumbela or to the place where the city of Lobito would later develop. However, with the beginning of the trade in colonial products and later the economic growth generated by the rubber trade, moving the town was no longer conceivable and improvements were introduced instead. According to Delgado (1944), the main changes in the infrastructure and organisation of the city began mainly in the early 1840s with repairs to the main buildings (the main market, the church). Decaying and abandoned houses were demolished and new ones constructed. In an 1848 report, the president of the municipality called for a city plan to be drawn up (Delgado, 1944: 21). An official town boundary was also proposed, an administrative measure seeking to prevent the scattering of houses, which, as above indicated, traders liked to build as close as possible to the routes to the *sertão* (the hinterland). In 1850 the first plan of the city was drawn.

Improvements to the city also meant trying to eliminate *cubatas* from the commercial and administrative area. In 1853, many of the inhabitants of the *cubatas* were sent to "special neighbourhoods" (Delgado, 1944, p.21). At the end of the XIX century, many *quintais* where slaves, and later *serviçais* for São Tomé, had been housed were also destroyed (ibid.). These large *quintais* were perceived as containing in their interior many *cubatas*, rubbish and filth and their usually high walls were blamed for preventing fresh air from circulating across the city. Identified as one of the main causes of the town's poor sanitation, *quintais* were associated with the old order, and constituted elements of (dis)order in the new order that the colonial administration wished to establish.

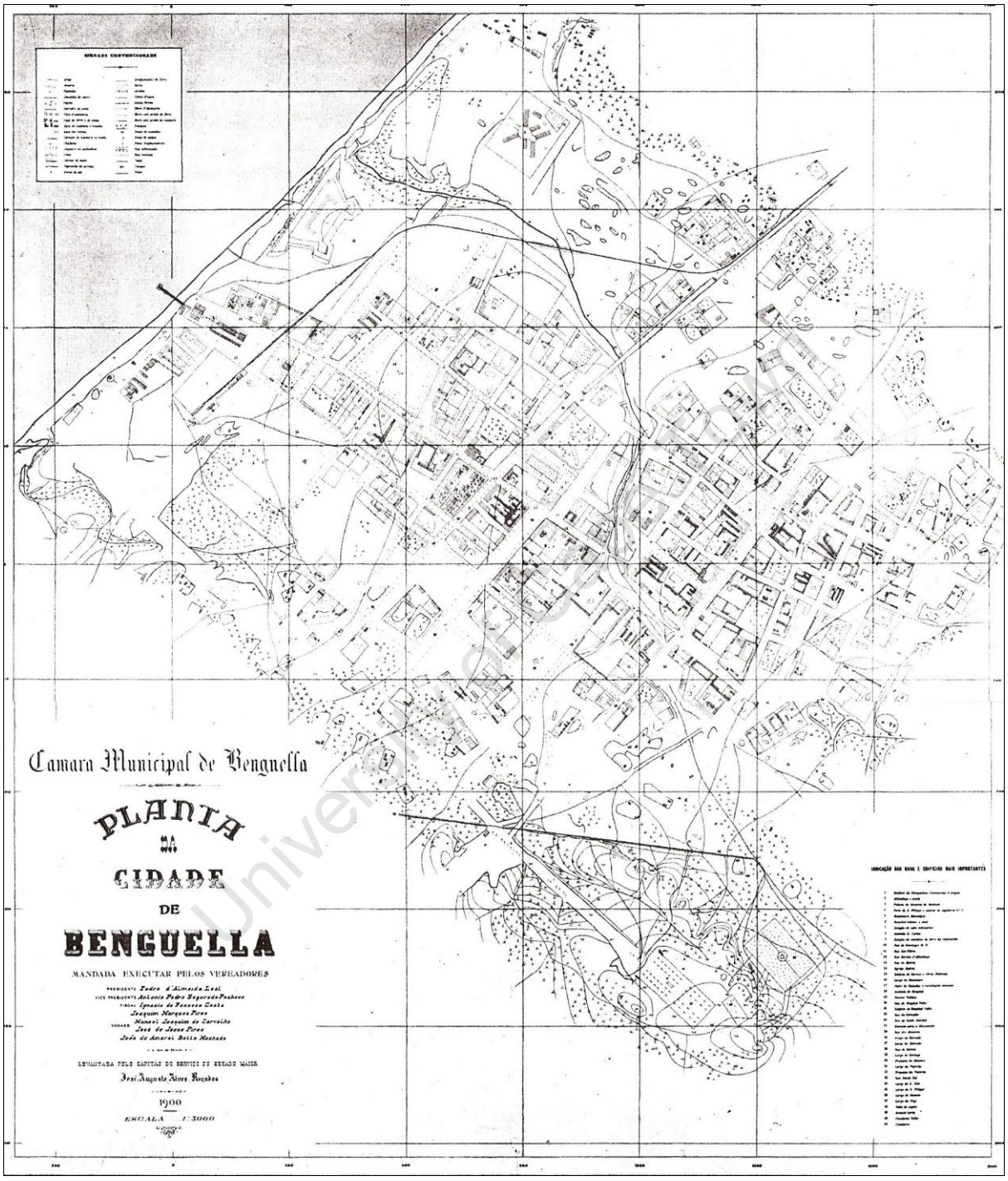
By the end of the XIX century, Benguela was a small town spread out over a large area, leaving large spaces between mostly one-storey mud-brick houses. As Map 5 below shows, the city was still oriented towards the *sertão* and most of its residential area spread away from the sea. However, Benguela was changing. The growth in population provoked by the rubber boom had led to the expansion of the town's area. While at the beginning of XIX century Benguela had only three neighbourhoods – Emboto, Calundo and Coringe – by

1880, the municipality comprised five: Calundo, Cassoco, Emboto, Quioje, Casseque and Bairro Central (Freudenthal, 2002).

The town was experiencing significant social and economic changes, which were the result of a changing rubber trade and of the arrival of increasing numbers of European immigrants, but which were also linked to profound transformations in the nature of the Portuguese colonial presence in Angola. At the end of the XIX century, the Portuguese administration sought to expand and consolidate its presence and to establish a structured colonial administration to rule the territory. One of the signs of these changes in Benguela was the replacement, starting in 1892, of local street names, very often linked to the social life of the town, by official names referring to the colonial power. For example, *Rua da Quintanda* (Street of the Local Market) became Rua Paulo Cid, name of a previous governor of Benguela District. This process continued throughout the beginning of the XX century, signalling greater control by the colonial administration over the urban space.

Map 5: The City of Benguela in 1900

Source: Câmara Municipal de Benguela



Establishment of the colonial administration

The expansion of Portuguese colonial occupation and the establishment of the colonial system at the end of the XIX century must be seen in the context of strong competition with other European colonial powers (in particular the British, the French and the Germans) and the secondary position which Portugal occupied at that time within Europe (Messiant, 1983; Freudenthal, 2001). Confronted by the growing interest shown by other colonial powers in the territories which Portugal claimed as its colonial possessions, Portugal expanded its effectively occupied territory and established a more systematic colonial policy.

In 1900 Portugal directly controlled only one-tenth of the territory it had gained through international treaties (Wheeler, 1972 cited in Freudenthal, 2001; Messiant, 1983). The effort of effective occupation led to a long period of military campaigns which were met by strong African resistance in different parts of the territory and lasted in some regions well into the XX century (Pelissier, 2004).

The new Portuguese colonial system, formulated in the 1890s, sought to control labour (Messiant, 1983), to develop the territory and to secure a European settlement in Angola (Freudenthal, 2001). The foundations of the colonial system remained basically the same until 1961, when popular insurrections led to the introduction of significant reforms. Although important political events shook Portugal's political life during that period,[53] as several authors note (Messiant, 1983; Freudenthal, 2001) the pillars of the colonial system were maintained.

Civilizados and indígenas

The Portuguese colonial system was marked by a tension between segregation and assimilation.[54] Influenced by evolutionist ideas and a belief of the superiority of European culture,[55] this system introduced a distinction in the population between *civilizados* and *indigenas* (indigenous) and, accordingly, a differentiated legal system. The policy that was named "the *Indigenato*"[56] instituted during that period detailed labour regulations along with

[53] The fall of the monarchy and the foundation of the Republic in 1910, the arrival of Salazar to power in 1926 and the foundation of the *Estado Novo*.
[54] See, amongst others, Pélissier (1978), Messiant,(1983), Freudenthal (2001).
[55] In his book, *On Postcolony*, Mbembe (2001) discusses the relationship between the West and Africa, and points to how, in his view, Africa contributed the construction of the West's subjectivity (see for example, pp. 2 and 3).
[56] The *Indigenato* was the equivalent to the Native Policy in English colonies. I will maintain the term *Indigenato* to refer to this policy, as I wish to avoid the term "native" to refer to the population classified as

political and cultural rules, and ensured that strict authority was exerted over the portion of the population that was classified as *indigenas*. The colonial policy of direct rule over local political chiefs inevitably weakened African modes of ruling.[57]

The official distinction between *civilizados* and *indigenas* was introduced in 1894, and was based on school instruction and customs (Messiant, 1983). At the beginning of the XX century, Portuguese legislation defined as *indigenas:*

> individuals who are black or *mestiços* and who combine the following characteristics: they were born in the province, they do not speak Portuguese correctly, they have indigenous habits and customs (Ferreira Diniz, 1913, cited in Freudenthal, 2001, my translation).

As a result of this definition of *indigena*, while *mestiços* and blacks had to distinguish themselves from the *indigenas* to have access to the legal status of *civilizado* and later of *assimilado*, whites, even if they were illiterate, criminals or convicts, were automatically considered *civilizados* (Messiant, 1983: 150). In 1921, legislation defined the African *civilizado* as "one who could speak Portuguese, had divested himself of tribal customs, and was regularly and gainfully employed" (Duffy, 1962: 125). Unlike the majority of the population classified as *indigenas*, *civilizados* were exempt from forced labour, had guaranteed property rights, could legally own commercial establishments, had access to official primary education, could intervene in political life and were considered Portuguese citizens.[58] In his book *Citizen and Subject*, Mamdani (1996) refers to a "bifurcated world", a "divided world [that] is inhabited by subjects on one side and citizens on the other" (p.61).[59]

However, as explained above, the social distinction between a group of the population designated as *civilizado* and another group classified as *gentio* already existed in Angola before 1894. Until the end of the XIX century, people belonging to the group of *filhos do pais* (blacks and racially mixed individuals) were considered and perceived as Portuguese citizens and therefore as *civilizados*. They had the right to vote and were not submitted to any legal restriction in relation to their access to education, to positions in the Portuguese

indigenas in Angola (see Appendix B). For a description and discussion of colonial systems in Africa see Mamdani (1996), although the stress is mainly on British colonial power; see also Mbembe (2001), for a discussion of *l'indigénat* in the French colonial system.

[57] Under the Portuguese colonial system, *indígenas* were theoretically ruled by customary law and by the African authority system. In reality, the very tight system of direct rule imposed strong control over "traditional authorities" ruling the *indigenas* population. Local authorities, such as *Regedores* and local *Sobas* were chosen locally but had to be approved by the Portuguese administration. They were in reality mere transmission agents. Lower levels of colonial administration had more power than any local chief (Messiant, 1983).

[58] Under the Portuguese colonial system, both men and women could have access to the *civilizado* legal status.

[59] Although in different ways, English, French and Portuguses colonial systems all adopted "classificatory systems" that created "citizens" and "subjects" of the colonial state (see Mamdani, 1996 and Mbembe, 2001 for a discussion on the classificatory systems in the English and French colonial territories).

Administration and to colonial society at large (Freudenthal, 2001). They were in demographic advantage in relation to the European population, and both Messiant (1983) and Freudenthal (2001) explain their acceptance by the Portuguese colonial authorities until the beginning of the XX century by their active role in colonial society and in the colonization effort. They were part of the small group of educated individuals upon whom the colonial administration could depend.

The XIX century constituted the heyday of this population group, later defined as *assimilados* (Wheeler and Pelissier, 1971: 97), with rapid changes to their situation from the beginning of the XX century. While the introduction and, later, the consolidation of the new colonial system in Angola had allowed for official acknowledgement of the relatively privileged position of the non-white *civilizado* group, its members rapidly lost that position in the society. With the growth in the rubber trade at the end of the XIX century, immigration from Portugal had increased, and the *filhos do país*[60] had to compete with these European immigrants for social and economic positions in colonial society.[61] The situation of *mestiços* and black *civilizados* was later further undermined. The Portuguese colonial authorities' European settlement policy undermined the power formerly enjoyed by the non-white *civilizado* group (Messiant, 1983).

Major blows to this group included obstacles, introduced at the beginning of the XX century, to access to high positions in the colonial administration. Legislation passed in 1901 and 1911 linked access to these positions to the completion of secondary education. Many *assimilados* were self-taught as, with the exception of the Seminary of Luanda, there was no secondary school in Angola (Wheeler and Pelissier, 1971). By contrast, the Colonial School in Lisbon, created in 1906, produced many of high-level civil servants who then emigrated to the colony. Attacks on the privileged position of the *assimilado* group were particularly fierce under Governor Norton de Matos, who actively defended a policy of European settlement. It was under his government that, in 1921, that the *Quadro Geral Auxiliar of the Colonial Administration* (Colonial Administration General Auxiliary Framework) was created. This legislation obliged black *assimilados,*[62] whatever their education, to remain in "auxiliary positions" within the administration, putting a limit on the positions and salaries which they could reach and thus preventing them from careers in the colonial administration, which had

[60] At the beginning of the XX century, this group was also designated as *natives or civilised natives.*
[61] Messiant (1983: 148) notes that in 1845 the *mestiço* population was three times higher than the white population, but the situation changed rapidly after the end of the XIX century. In 1920, the number of whites was already twice as high as that of *mestiços*.
[62] Dias (1983) citing Norton de Matos (1926) says that this administrative measure did not apply to *mestiços* or Indian civil servants.

been possible for them up until this point. As Messiant (1983) notes, at the beginning of the XX century the descendents of *filhos do país* stopped being full members of colonial society and were relegated to an "auxiliary position" (p. 151). While *filhos do país* had been part of the elite of the colonial society for centuries – they had actually formed the majority of the colonial population – suddenly, they were excluded from that narrow circle. This led not only to painful loss of status, but also to significant economic losses in the form of salaries and material benefits, further depleting the fortunes of families whose economic power had been waning since the end of the slave trade.[63]

Losses for the large networks of *filhos do país* were not limited to their positions in the colonial administration. The economic crisis of 1929 hit, in particular, small traders and farmers already weakened by the competition with new European migrants (Messiant, 1983). In the hinterland, many members of this group were victims of processes of land expropriation, especially small owners and in particular in the region around Luanda (Freudenthal, 2001). In many cases, this led to difficulties in maintaining the status of "independent farmer", resulting in problems in accessing or keeping the legal status of *civilizado*. Freudenthal (2001) notes that the number of families owning land dropped drastically between 1890 and 1920. With neither land nor private economic activity guaranteeing sufficient income, the status of *assimilado* was dependent, for many Angolans, on school education or on jobs in the public administration (Freudenthal, 2001). This may partially explain the attachment to jobs in public admistration that continued to characterise the Angolan urban elite for long time. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of contemporary perceptions of jobs.)

The Indigenato

At the end of the XIX century and after other European colonial powers had done so, Portugal initiated a process of development of its colonial territories that relied primarily on the export of local products (rubber, maize) and on the extraction of labour. As many authors have pointed out, in the absence of important capital flows, African labour was the main basis for economic growth in Angola (Freudenthal, 2001; Clarence-Smith, 1976; Mendes, 1966). Labour – the lack of labour, how to access labour, how best to use labour – was therefore a major issue during the first half of the XX century. As Messiant (1983) points out, the Portuguese colonial economic system was based on a contradiction: because Portugal had been unable to develop a commercial agricultural system, the colonial economy needed

[63] The end of the alliance between colonial authorities and African elites at the beginning of the XX century also happened in other colonial territories of the continent. Mamdani (1996: 74-76) refers to similar patterns in both British (Sierra Leone for example) and French territories (in Senegal, for example).

both to engage African labour in agricultural production (in particular to stimulate the production of maize, which fed the trade economy) and also to take labour out of agricultural production in order to export workers (to São Tomé and to work on major infrastructure works in Angola). This contradiction was amply demonstrated in newspaper articles throughout the first half of the XX century, where members of the colonial society often wrote to protest against *contratados* (contracted workers) being sent to São Tomé when they were needed to work in Angola. One of the major objectives of the colonial system was therefore to guarantee very tight control of the *indigenas* population and to put this population to work.

This intention was expressed in the *Regulamento do Trabalho dos Indígenas* (labour regulation) published in 1899 and in subsequent legislation (1911, 1914 and 1928[64]). The labour legislation made working a moral and legal obligation for *indígenas*; the legal obligation to work meant that breaking labour contracts was punishable by law (Duffy, 1962; Pelissier, 1978; Messiant, 1983; Freudenthal, 2001). The labour legislation applied to men aged between 14 and 60 years, with the exception of *cipaios* (African policemen), local chiefs, catechists, the ill and invalids. Otherwise, exemptions from forced labour were granted only to *indigenas* who owned enough capital or goods to ensure their subsistence, or to those who had access to regular revenues through a business or a profession. They were also granted to farmers cultivating large pieces of land (although, at the same time, legislation threatened property-ownership for *indígenas*[65]) and to those *indígenas* with waged employment for a fixed period every year. In 1928, the *caderneta indígena,*[66] an identity document with photographs and fingerprints, was introduced and every individual classified as *indígena* had to carry one with him / her.[67] The *caderneta* recorded a person's financial[68] and labour situation, and functioned above all as an instrument of control of the *indígenas* population.

The labour legislation allowed for any *indigena* who was not under contract to be declared "a vagrant" and forced into a five-year labour contract that was very poorly paid, often at almost starvation levels (Duffy, 1962). The *contrato* (contract) became a synonym for forced labour.

[64] The *Código do Trabalho do Indigenas nas colónias portuguesa de África*, published in 1928, was valid until 1961.

[65] Land expropriation and disputes around land increased greatly at the beginning of the century, a process that was helped by the weakening power of local chiefs (Freudenthal, 2001)

[66] The *caderneta indígena* was similar to the "pass" in South Africa.

[67] Two Angolan historians, Maria da Conceição Neto and Aida Freudenthal, with whom I was lucky to keep up a very stimulating dialogue, note how little the situation of *indígenas* women is known. The legislation determined that single adult women (older than 21 years old) should pay the *indigenas* tax so they should also carry a *caderneta*. But very little is known of what happened in practice.

[68] The *indigenas* population was subject to a "hut tax" (*imposto de cubata*) which was in 1919 replaced by an *indígenas* "poll tax". One of the objectives of this tax was to encourage the production of cash crops.

Contratados (people under *contrato*) were sometimes recruited by the local administration but also by *angariadores* (labour recruiters). Although many provisions in the labour legislation sought to regulate the conduct of employers and of labour recruiters, there was never any effective control of "the abusive practices of *angariadores*" nor of the application of increased obligations of the employers in relation to *contratados,* as stipulated by law (Duffy, 1962: 133). At the beginning of the XX century, Angolan *contratados* were sent in great numbers to plantations in São Tomé. It was also *contratados'* labour that built major infrastructure at the beginning of the century: roads, railways, harbours and so on.

Theoretically subject to the rule of "traditional" law", *indigenas* were converted to Christianity in missions where they were also educated, outside the official Portuguese system (see Chapter 6 for life stories of individuals educated in missions). However, in this separate domain the pressure on *indígenas* and also sometimes the desire for *assimilação* were very strong (Messiant, 1983). Cultural assimilation was to be achieved through measures which would later become formalised as *portugalisação,* an overall programme of cultural assimilation seeking to inculcate "the Portuguese way of being in the world" (see Messiant, 1983, Duffy, 1962, Pélissier, 1978).

The push towards assimilation, later *portugalisação*, was reflected in the education policy. As was the case with other colonial powers, the education policy included a practical and "civilising" intention, but also a "nationalising dimension" that was particular to the Portuguese colonial system. The education of *indigenas* needed to be essentially practical – that is, it should allow for "the acquisition of habits and skills in accordance to their sex, their condition, and the demands of their economic region" – but also "nationalist" (Messiant, 1983: 122) – that is, it should lead *indigenas* to internalise the "Portuguese way of being in the world". However, the resources invested until 1961 in education of the population classified as *indígenas* were very limited: in 1949, only 1.2% of total education expenses went to the education of *indigenas* (Messiant, 1983: 126). The education of *indigenas* was left to religious missions, which could not meet the demand in education in rural areas. In addition, as Neto (1997) points out, many of the religious missions were not Portuguese and/or were not run by Portuguese religious personnel; they did not always wish to follow the policies of *assimilação* and *portugalização (*see Chapter 6 for more details).

In one of the many cruel contradictions of the Portuguese colonial system, the integration in practice of the "Portuguese way of being in the world" did not lead immediately to access to the legal status of *assimilado,* which was the only way to escape the strictures of the *Indigenato* and the possibility of forced labour. Education was indispensable in order to

access both better jobs and the status of *assimilado*, which depended to a large extent on cultural factors (see below). However, the rare opportunities to study narrowed still further along the way: if finishing primary education was difficult enough, going to secondary school seemed impossible for most. In fact, the colony could not even meet the education needs of its "civilised population". Most of the few existing public schools were located in towns and reserved for the children of Europeans and *assimilados*. In 1935, there were only three primary schools in Benguela and no secondary school; these only existed in Luanda and in Huíla (*O Instransigente*, 23 October 1935). As a result, only those families with some financial resources could afford for their children to study beyond primary school. In 1958, three years before the uprisings of 1961, 96.97% of the population of Angola was illiterate (Neto, 2003).

Many authors also stress that, if Angola's miserable educational possibilities resulted from the limitations on Portuguese, it is also true that curtailing the possibilities of education for *indigenas* was in fact a policy. As many Portuguese immigrants to Angola were illiterate, education of *indigenas* could be seen as potentially creating competition for this group. In addition, the administration feared that such education would reduce the pool of cheap labour, as educated individuals would aspire to well-remunerated jobs and would not be available to work for *contratos* or similar arrangements (Messiant, 1983). Until 1961, obstacles to education were one of the major reasons for resentment against the colonial administration.

Given the tight framework of the *Indigenato*, getting out of the *indigenas* system and achieving the legal status of *assimilado* was particularly difficult (see also Balandier, 1963 cited in Messiant, 1983: 137 and Okuma, 1962 cited in Messiant, 1983: 138). Legislation published in 1931 established that, in order to become *assimilado* and obtain a Portuguese identity card, one needed to have entirely abandoned tribal habits and costumes; to speak, read and write Portuguese correctly; to be monogamous; and/or to have a profession, a job or a trade "compatible with the European civilisation" or to have revenues for licit activities or from property ensuring the subsistence of him/her and his/her family.[69] An application to the status of *assimilado* required the presentation of a full range of documents, including a declaration from "civilised individuals" on the applicant's "appropriate behaviour", along with an inquiry from the local administration on the applicant's "way of life" (Messiant, 1983: 138). The inquiry would verify, among other details, if there was appropriate furniture in the

[69] Referred in a letter written by the *Comissão Administrativa da Liga Nacional Africana* to the General Governor of Angola in October 1958. Letter published in "Angola – Revista mensal de doutrina, estudo e propaganda instrutiva" Ano XXIX, nº162, Janeiro/Junho 1961, pp. 11-15. I should thank Maria da Conceição Neto who drew my attention to this letter.

applicant's house – in particular if it had a true bed, a table and chairs (ibid.). We will see in Chapter 5 how notions of a proper house are underpinned by these ideas of an appropriate "way of life".

Neto (2003:7) notes that in 1960, the number of blacks and *mestiços* belonging to the population group classified as *civilizado* was around 100,000, that is approximately 2% of the total population.[70] However, she also points out that even though the number of *assimilados de jure* was very low, the number of individuals whose way of life was strongly influenced by European patterns (particularly migrants in towns and those educated in religious missions) was significantly larger. So, the number of potential candidates to the status of *assimilado* was probably much higher than those who achieved the classification, allowing for the many who failed to overcome the many hurdles to reaching that status and, with it, greater possibilities for upward mobility. These difficulties became more pronounced, as Portuguese immigrants arriving in Angolan towns in the 1940s and 1950s had low qualifications and competed for jobs previously dominated by *assimilados*, such as waiters in coffee shops and restaurants, newspapers sellers, and dockers in warehouses and harbours (Amaral, 1960).

However, as Messiant (1983) stresses, until 1961 and the end of the *Indigenato* only the legal status of *assimilado* offered an avenue for upward social mobility or even stability in the colonial Angola, with the result that, while Portuguese official discourse stressed assimilation, Portuguese administrative practice led to segregation.

The beginning of the XX century: A town under colonial control

No more rubber, no more Caravans: The (almost) death of Benguela

At the beginning of the XX century the economy of Benguela experienced a deep crisis that lasted until the end of the 1930s. This crisis was linked to the end of the rubber trade but also to other structural changes that had profound impact on the region. Agricultural products, mainly maize, replaced rubber in local trading and as an export, and trade continued for a long time to represent the backbone of the economy of Benguela. However, the establishment of a more structured colonial system and the construction of new transport infrastructure brought about profound changes in the demographic, social and also economic characteristics of the region.

[70] In 1960, the total population of Angola was 4,830,449.

The *Caminho de Ferro de Benguela* (Benguela Railway), linking the harbour of Lobito to the border between Angola and Zambia, commenced in 1904 and, in 1910, reached the highlands from where the old Ovimbundu caravans used to start their long journey to Benguela. The railway reached the town of Huambo in 1912 and the border with the Belgian Congo in 1929 (Neto, 1999). It put an end to the old system of trading and its organisation in Benguela and in the hinterland, and also changed the role of the different actors involved in trade. Signalling a growing formalisation and bureaucratisation of trading relations, a resident of Benguela noted in an article in one of the local newspapers that traders in Benguela would now have to "trade in the European style. (…) Before, any employer of any important trading house needed only to know the indigenous language, and many could not even read" (in *O Benguella*, 28 March 1908, my translation).

The arrival of the railway line in the highlands put an end to the last great long-distance Ovimbundu caravans. Products to be traded were gathered on the railway stations, where new trading posts were opened. The train and the end of the rubber trade together led to the increase of agricultural production in the region, in particular of maize. Until the 1940s, as Neto (1999) notes, maize constituted the most important export crop, second only to diamonds. The combination of the railway and the *Indigenato* also signalled the gradual loss of Ovimbundu's centrality to regional trade. Bush traders (*aviados*) consolidated their control of regional trade; they bought maize from local farmers and stored it to sell later to traders from Benguela. Bush traders were mostly Portuguese and in any case needed to be *civilizados* (Europeans and *assimilados*) since, as stated by the "Commercial Concentration Act" of 1937, *indigenas* could not own commercial establishments (Messiant, 1983: 83).

The *Caminho de Ferro de Benguela* also profoundly changed the occupation pattern of the hinterland of Benguela. The railway encouraged the burgeoning of small settlements and towns around the railway stations, which attracted not only bush traders and new Portuguese immigrants, but also the local population who came to trade but also to look for work.[71] For some time, many of the bush traders operating in the interior of what was the district of Benguela continued to live in the *mato* closer to their trading partners and preferred not to have to fulfil the "civilising obligations" to which their houses needed to conform in more

[71] Neto (1999) draws attention to the importance of the interaction of these small towns with the surrounding rural areas and to the social and economic changes they have provoked. In addition to Huambo, which became the second most important city in Angola after World War II and attracted many migrants, other small towns such as Cubal and Ganda in the interior of Benguela Province had already, by the 1930s, developed relatively important agriculture and some agro-industries. After the war, the very large sisal commercial farms in these regions attracted migrants from all over the hinterland of Angola. This is particularly important when looking at current rural–urban relationships and at relationships between migrants (or war-displaced people) coming from these regions as their contact with urban settings may be several generations old.

"civilised" settlements (Neto, 1999).[72] The fiercely debated Commercial Concentration Act fought to bring an end to this tendency.[73] One important objective of this law was to force bush traders to live and work from stable "commercial population settlements". According to the law, all commercial settlements should be "constructions of permanent character", built of stone, bricks or cement (instead of adobe, or sticks and grass), with roofs made of tile or fibrocement, or, "exceptionally, in the absence of these materials, zinc" (Article 2, of the Law on Commercial Concentration published in the newspaper *O Instransigente* of 9 November 1937, my translation). We will see in Chapter 5 the importance that this notion of "construction of permanent character" has assumed today.

The construction of the harbour in Lobito, opened in 1928, also profoundly changed the social and economic life of Benguela. The Lobito port constituted a painful blow to the economy of Benguela which had for centuries been solidly based on trade and exports through its harbour. Up until this point, Lobito had been a small settlement some thirty kilometres north of Benguela, which had existed since the middle of the XIX century but had attracted only a few residents.[74] The harbour of Lobito brought such rapid development to the settlement that by 1950 its population was larger than that of Benguela.[75] It absorbed most of the regional maritime traffic and provoked a decline of activity in Benguela's harbour and with it a profound crisis in the town. From the mid-1920s, local newspapers reported at length on the threats hovering over the town, describing them in terms of a suspected "conspiracy" against the economic life of Benguela. Several newspapers reported an alleged "War on Benguela" organised by the municipality of Lobito, along with the central colonial authorities of Luanda and Lisbon. Benguela, an old colonial society, still composed of a mix of Europeans and descendents of *filhos do país*, had since the slave trade continually protested against both the hegemony of and the lack of attention from the central administration, and its citizens found in the threats to the town's economic life another reason to unite and protest.[76] They suspected a plan on the part of the colonial authorities to move all

[72] Newspapers of that period referred to the *chingues*, which were apparently the very "basically" built *cubatas* where bush traders lived.
[73] From the end of the 1920s, through the 1930s and even into the 1940s, newspapers reflected the degree of controversy stirred up within colonial society by the question of "commercial concentration". Over several months in 1937, for example, the local newspaper *O Instransigente* published the opinions of readers on the "pros and cons" of the Commercial Concentration Act. The press coverage reveals the extent to which that law threatened ways of trading and of living, and the fear with which many members of colonial society regarded the "formalisation" that this law introduced.
[74] In 1907, only seven Europeans and approximately ten Africans lived in Lobito (Amaral, 1962).
[75] In 1950, the population of Benguela was 14,690 whereas the population of Lobito was 23,897.
[76] Messiant (1983: 547) notes that there existed in Benguela a tradition of opposition to the metropole which evolved later into opposition to the government of Salazar. This opposition brought together different social groups, such as Republicans, who had during the monarchy been deported to Benguela; a strong group of free-masons; local entrepreneurs defending economic interests who felt that they were subjugated to the interests of Lisbon; and a group of black and *mestiço assimilados*.

administrative powers from Benguela to Lobito and to impose on Benguela the slow death to which Catumbela had been condemned since the end of the rubber trade. It is true that the colonial authorities were encouraging the use of Lobito's port to increase returns on investment made in the railway and in the port, but these efforts were interrpreted by colonial society in Benguela as a conspiracy to diminish the importance of the city. They felt they had to resist.

Throughout the 1920s and the 1930s, the local press and local entities such as the Benguela Trading Association (*Associação Comercial de Benguela* or ACB) rallied behind the slogan "Benguela shall not die", fought against the decline of the economy, and opposed any administrative measure that might be perceived as an attempt to diminish the social, political and economic role of Benguela.[77] One important battle was fought during the 1930s against the threat to close the branch of *Banco de Angola* in Benguela and maintain only the branch of the bank in Lobito. Strong protests in the local newspapers and the intervention of ACB prevented that from happening. In a last attempt to save the harbour of Benguela, ACB proposed the creation of a company which would bring together and manage imports and exports through the harbour of Benguela. But the Lobito harbour won that battle and activity in Benguela harbour slowly decreased.

The burgeoning fishing industry came to be as something of a saviour of the city's economy. By the end of the 1930s, that industry had grown to occupy an important place in the local economy, producing fish and fish-based flour and oil which were sold in other parts of the territory and also exported to the Congo. Although its harbour was barely functioning for exports, Benguela was still considered to be the second "trading market" of the colony. At the end of the 1930s, the valley of the Cavaco River, uncultivated bush up until then, began to be developed for agriculture: in 1938, for instance, there were 394 *indigenas* farmers and 37 European farmers on 72 hectares of the valley.[78] The economy of Benguela seemed to be recovering. Although the growth and the development of the towns of Lobito and Huambo would quickly relegate Benguela to fourth place in the hierarchy of towns of Angola, Benguela had escaped the fate of Catumbela.

By the end of the 1930s, with growing exports of coffee and cotton, this recovery seemed to be true of the overall economy of the colony too, after the difficulties sparked by the worldwide economic crisis of the 1930s. However, Messiant (1983: 177) notes that the

[77] In 1933, a commission to defend the town and its harbour was created – *Comissão de Defesa e Propaganda da Cidade e Porto.*

[78] For detailed articles on the economic life of Benguela at the end of the 1930s see the special issue of *O Instransigente* of May 1938.

Angolan economy was still heavily based on labour and on trade and that no major changes had been introduced.

The colonial town: Intensifying social, racial and spatial differentiation

The political and economic changes taking place in Angola more generally at the beginning of the XX century had a profound effect on Benguela. Changes in the economy, the growing number of immigrants from Portugal and the reinforcement of the Portuguese administration all had a significant impact on the structure of social relations and also on the spatial division of the town. While in the mid-XIX century the white population in Benguela remained very small (see Table 5 and Table 6 above), the situation began to change at the end of the XIX century. By contrast with the situation during the XIX century, in 1930 the white population was almost as large as the population of *mestiços* (see Table 7).[79] This change in the town's demographics, added to the colonial administration's goal of reinforcing European colonisation in Angola and therefore of reducing the standing of *assimilados* in the colony, led to increased competition and conflicts within this very small and socially interwoven colonial society.[80]

Table 7: Population of Benguela in 1930[81]

	Male	Female	Total
Whites	1,131	595	1,726
Mestiços	933	951	1,884
Black	4,059	2,678	6,737
Foreigners[82]	30	14	44
Total	6,153	4,238	10,391

Source: Jornal de Benguela, 29 January 1930

With the changes in the economy of the region and the end of the caravans, the number of Ovimbundu traders coming from the highlands had decreased and the presence of *indigenas* in general in town was perceived less benevolently. It is in that context that one should read

[79] The actual number of *mestiços* in Benguela was probably higher. Newspaper articles refer sometimes to people concealing their African origins.

[80] It is also in terms of the contradictions of the time that one should view the case involving Augusto Bastos, the author of *Monographia da Catumbela* and a prominent figure of the town, and other *mestiços* of Benguela who were imprisoned in June 1917 on allegations of a conspiracy organised by the "civilised native population" of Benguela. This case fed acrimonious debates throughout 1917 in two newspapers: *Comércio de Benguela*, where Augusto Bastos wrote, and *Jornal de Benguela*.

[81] The newspaper says that "the population of Benguela is composed of 10,347 Portuguese individuals and of 45 [there was probably a mistake in the calculation] foreigners", thereby categorising all non-foreign residents as Portuguese, including those classified at that time as *indigenas* (although, theoretically, the latter could not be Portuguese as they were not eligible for Portuguese identity cards).

[82] The newspaper did not reveal the composition of this group.

a comment in a local newspaper about a recently promulgated regulation forbidding the circulation of "naked people" in town and therefore of *indigenas* who were not wearing "at least one blazer and a pair of fabric trousers" (in *Jornal de Benguela*, 10 June 1921, my translation). However, responses to this piece of legislation showed also that as the town still lived on trade with the population classified as *indigenas*, exclusion of this group from town was not perceived positively by everyone. If some residents fully agreed with the legislation and thought that it should be extended to "all European settlements of the district", others were more careful as they feared that such legal measure would prevent *indigenas* from coming to the *cidade*, which would cut their business and profits.

As Ovimbundu caravans ceased to enter Benguela, the Ovimbundu population was pushed to coastal urban areas throughout the XX century. Many Ovimbundu migrated to the coast either as *contratados* or on a voluntary basis to work on the construction of the railway, new roads and the Lobito harbour; or to work on the farms and fisheries, the growing enterprises of Benguela and Lobito. This led to the Ovimbundo-isation of the town. Neto (1999) says that the Ovimbundu on the coast of Benguela rapidly outnumbered the Mundombe, the original inhabitants of the region. *Umbundu* is at present the most commonly spoken African language in that region.

The changes in the demographic structure of the town and the stronger establishment of colonial administration led also to greater social and spatial segregation in town. As I describe below, during the first decades of the XX century several laws on urban structure and planning were produced, especially during the governments of Norton de Matos in 1912 and 1921.

As was the case with other other colonial powers at the time, Portuguese colonial legislation on the organisation of urban space at the beginning of the century had one key imperative: the task of emphasising social differentiation and domination (Sapire and Bell, 1995; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1985; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1988). However, as I describe below, legislation enacted by the Portuguese colonial administration after 1912 served also the purpose of imposing notions of proper house construction and of order, spatial organisation and routines within the household realm. Norton de Matos' laws were based on the idea of the superiority of European civilisation, an assumption shared by colonial society in general. Thus, one of his pieces of legislation begins, "European population settlements have a higher mark of civilisation than those of *indigenas"* (*Portaria* 1:086, *Boletim Oficial de Angola*, nº34, 24th of August 1912, my translation).

These laws began to be promulgated during the first government of Norton de Matos but other laws would follow confirming the logic and the vision on which was grounded the *Portaria* of 1912.[83] This law related to the foundation of Huambo in the Angolan Ovimbundu highlands.[84] It forbade, in "the future settlement, designated as '*cidade* do Huambo'", the construction of houses made of "adobe, wattle and daub or others, for whose construction are used the materials, roofs made of grass or thatch or any other building process that is characteristic of *indigenas* population settlements are employed" (ibid.). These materials and building processes could only be used in the neighbourhood for *indígenas* that was created by the same law also: the *Portaria* determined that "(…) on the outskirts of the town, and visibly separated from it, a *bairro indigena* be established where constructions such as those forbidden above may be built (…)" (ibid.). In the legislator's mind, a *bairro indigena* equated to rural areas and rural ways of life to which the *indigenas* population "naturally" belonged.[85] This ignored the fact that the population that was classified as *indígena* constituted the majority of the urban population as the demographics of Benguela showed (see also Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1993). Even though constructions of adobe and wattle and daub were permitted in the *bairro indigena*, the organisation of space within the house and in that neighbourhood was to follow notions of what a "proper" *bairro indigena* should be like. The *Portaria* also determined that the *bairro indigena* "should not be allowed to take a disorganised aspect of non-aligned narrow streets of houses agglomerated in a small space (…) such as happens in *indigenas* population settlements" (ibid.). In 1914, instructions as to spatial organisation and structure were not limited to urban space but now obliged *indigenas* by law to gather in formal settlements. As for the houses, the Huambo municipal commision was to create an "indigenous type of house, solidly constructed and responding at least to the most elementary conditions of hygiene" (ibid.). It is probably within the spirit of the 1912 *Portaria* that, in 1915, in the rapidly developing town of Lobito another *Portaria* forbade the construction of houses to be inhabited by "non-civilised *indigenas*" in certain areas of the town (*Portaria* nº8 (extra), *Boletim Oficial de Angola*, nº10, I Série, 6th of March 1915).

[83] A *Portaria* it is a piece of legislation in the Portuguese legal system similar to an order, a decree, or an ordinance. A *Portaria Municipal* is similar to a by-law, a law that is made by a local authority and that applies only to that area. (I thank Maria da Conceição Neto for a very useful 'historical dictionary'.)

[84] The city of Huambo was founded in 1912 by Norton de Matos. No European settlement existed there at the time; Huambo was a city-to-be, the product of the colonial vision of Norton de Matos who thought that the highlands offered the perfect conditions for a prosperous European settlement. As a result, as pointed out by Neto (1999), Norton de Matos founded an "a non-existent city, planned on grandiose scale" (Ibid: 6, my translation). In reality, Huambo did become the second urban centre of Angola, but only much later and more as a result of the railway than of the efforts of Norton de Matos (Ibid.).

[85] In For the City yet to Come, Simone (2004: 157) also notes how during colonial any residual elements residual elements of the "village", "with its associated social practices, ties, and discourses, had to be removed from the city where they did not properly belong".

Spatial distinctions and social/racial segregation were further enforced in the second mandate of Norton de Matos, with a *Portaria* published in 1921 saying that "no *indigena* will be allowed to build his/her *cubata* inside the area reserved for the development of urban centres for residence of Europeans and civilised natives, neither will the latter [Europeans and civilised natives] be allowed to build their residences in areas exclusively reserved for indigenous settlements" (*Portaria Provincial* nº137, *Boletim Oficial da Colónia de Angola* nº51, 1921). The intention of imposing notions of proper houses and proper ways of living was also visible and explicit in this law, justified on the grounds of hygiene and health concerns. Detailed instructions for building *cubatas* were given, with regulations for the height and area of each dwelling. The legislation went so far as to deliberate on the size of the house and to designate the number of people allowed to live in the house depending on its area – *cubatas* should be at least two metres high and have an area of at least nine square metres; each individual living in the house required an area of at least three square metres.

At the beginning of the 1920s, Norton de Matos paid explicit attention to the coastal towns of Angola – Luanda and Benguela in particular – whose "state of bad sanitation" was infamous. Finding it "necessary to end the bad sanitation state which the principal coastal settlements and other centres of European population have experienced in the last years", he promulgated a law determining that *bairros indigenas* should be constructed, beginning forthwith in the towns of Luanda, Lobito, Benguela and Mossamedes (*Portaria Provincial* nº183, *Boletim Oficial de Angola* nº43, I Série, 28th of October 1922). It is probably true that improvements in Benguela at the beginning of the century fell short of the expectations of the colonial society. Several Benguela residents' letters to local newspapers complained about the lack of regular running water, of the many spacious and dirty *quintais*, of decaying ugly old houses, of crumbling *cubatas* in the middle of the town, of large squares full of high grass, and of dusty pot-holed roads. It was only towards the end of the 1920s, with its future threatened, that the town benefited from significant works in its infrastructure: the water supply was improved, pavements were built along some roads, public gardens were established, and the River Corinje and some of the swamps of the town were drained.[86]

The *Portaria* of 1922 developed the ideas of spatial segregation and distinction even further, providing precise instructions on how space in *bairros indigenas* should be structured according to the status of their residents, depending on whether they were temporarily living in town, working there permanently or working for the colonial administration as members of

[86] See for example, *Jornal de Benguela*, 2 September 1921, *Jornal de Benguela* 2 December 1921: *Jornal de Benguela* 13 June de 1924 and later the special issue on Benguela of *O Intransigente*, May de 1938.

the *Quadro Geral Auxiliar* and therefore obliged to live "in the European way". Although this law did not specify the details of "living in the European way", these were probably similar to the requirements for *assimilação* – ways of dressing, use of Portuguese language, type and amount of furniture in the house, and so on. It is also this piece of legislation that establishes that "as soon as *bairros indigenas* are built, all *indigenas* should reside and spend the night in those neighbourhoods. (…) Outside *bairros indigenas*, "only Europeans and *naturais* of Angola[87] who, given their status of civilisation, live in the European way and live in houses of European type" are allowed to reside (*Portaria* nº183, 1922: article nº14). Following the same logic – and probably cognisant of the likelihood in towns such as Luanda and Benguela where many "poor whites" lived – the law also forbade Europeans to "reside or spend nights in *bairros indigenas*" (ibid; article nº16). This article did not forbid residence or staying overnight in *bairros indigenas* for *naturais* of Angola.

Attention to "proper building" was also reinforced. According to this *Portaria*, houses in *bairros indigenas* should only be built with materials "of permanent character" – unbaked adobe, wattle and daub, and roofs made of grass or thatched were forbidden. In Chapter 5, I show how the idea of "permanent character" of a house still profoundly shapes people' s ideas of proper housing.

The laws produced by Norton de Matos explicitly linked social status, the occupation of space and housing patterns, especially in urban areas. However, notwithstanding all the legislative energy that he and his government put into spatial ordering of Angolan urban areas, changes in the structure of Benguela were very slow. In 1924, residents of the town still complained about the insalubrious state of the town and requested that the *Portaria* of 1922 be implemented and all indigenous houses be sent to one *bairro indígena*. (*Jornal de Benguela*, 13 June 1924).

[87] The designation "*naturais* of Angola" officially speaking should refer to all those who were born in Angola. During the period of the Republic in Portugal (between 1910 and the Salazar's coming to power at the end of the 1920s), the expression "*naturais* of Angola" appears in texts and laws written by Norton de Matos or under his authority and seems to refer to a non-white population group who were considered *civilizados*. The use of "*naturais*" instead of "*nativos*" (natives) may have sought to distinguish this group from the term "natives" as was used in British colonies to refer to the population group classified in Angola as *indigenas* (personal information given to me by Aida Freudenthal). The distinction between "*naturais* of Angola" and "Europeans" made explicit in the articles nº14 and nº16 of this *Portaria* may also indicate that "*naturais* of Angola" were not expected to be (or look) white. Whites seem to have been designated as "Europeans". However, as shown above, these distinctions were sometimes difficult to apply in practice, as in places like Benguela and Luanda they could co-exist within the same family. The introduction of the term "*naturais* of Angola" instead of "*nativos*" may have also sought to move away from the political charge that the term "*nativos*" or the term "*nativos civilizados*" had acquired in Angola during that period which were used by groups of non-white *civilizados* who contested the segregationist laws promulgated by Norton de Matos (See footnotes 56 and 60 and also Appendix B for a discussion of modes of classification of people in Angola during the period studied.)

Map 6: The City of Benguela in 1939

Source: Ministério das Colónias, Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais

Map 6 shows that in 1939 Benguela had one *bairro indígena,* which seems to have been built during the 1930s,[88] and that most of the town's buildings were concentrated next to that *bairro*, that is, next to what had previously been the road to the *sertão*. Very few houses were built close to the sea, while some of the empty areas were probably occupied by *cubatas*.

Difficulties in implementing Norton de Matos's detailed laws might be linked to political changes in Portugal with the arrival of the dictatorship in 1926 and later with the economic crisis of 1929. However, the lag between legislation and action was more likely to have been the result of the colonial administration's persistent lack of financial and human resources.[89] It was only in the 1940s and after that new concerns around urbanisation arose in Angola. In

[88] This *bairro* was later called Bairro Benfica. It was very difficult for me to obtain accurate information on the growth of Benguela, especially for the beginning of the century. The information I could access was obtained through secondary sources (especially the works of Ralph Delgado and Aida Freudenthal) and through reading newspapers and interviewing old residents of the town. For a more detailed study, a more profound archival research in various archives would be necessary.

[89] These difficulties may also be linked with the weak position from which Norton de Matos completed his second term in Angola. While his appointment as high commissioner had been welcomed by the colonial society, remembering what they considered to be a successful first term, he was accused in the 1920s of poor economic management.

1948, a new law creating *bairros indigenas* was enacted but it was only in 1956 that specific and detailed regulations for *bairros indigenas* were drawn up. As described below, the events of 1961, along with the termination of the *Indigenato* and the legal separation between *indigenas* and *civilizados,* would formally put an end to the *bairros indigenas*. However, even if they were never fully executed, the laws produced by Norton de Matos seem to have been important, as his vision of "colonial development" and an ideal Portuguese Angola had a significant impact on colonial society and its urban manifestations. Although his laws were only weakly implemented if at all, they seemed to have informed the colonial imaginary of the proper structuring of urban space, with, as we see below, lasting effects.

From World War II to Independence: The rise and the fall of the colonial power

The economic boom

After the World War II, the Angolan economy continued to grow, boosted by the war in Europe and the growing demand for products from the colonies during and afterwards. Exports of cotton, sisal, maize, sugar and coffee continued to increase. However, given the low levels of investment, the economy of the territory was still heavily based on very cheap labour that was "displaced" to work in plantations, mines and fisheries and on the construction of new infrastructure (Neto, 2003). Industrial activity in the territory was extremely limited. The economic protectionist approach adopted by Portugal prevented any significant industrial development in its colonies until 1960, as the government of *Estado Novo* feared competition with the industry of the metropole. As Torres (1989) points out, in 1940 economic activity in Angola was still profoundly marked by the tertiary sector: while only 13% of the population classified as *civilizada* worked in the agricultural sector and 13% in the industrial sector, 68% of civilizados were traders, civil servants or employers in trading companies (ibid: 104). In Benguela District, the tertiary sector was even more important: in 1940 only 9% of the "civilised" population worked in agriculture.

By the end of 1947, exports from Angola exceeded imports, mainly from Portugal. After 1950, Angola's trade balance continued positive (Amaral, 1960). At the end of the 1940s, coffee was the primary Angolan export (ibid.), marking the start of the "coffee boom" which would have a major social and economic impact on Angola. In 1946, Angola was, after England, Portugal's second largest trading partner, which shows the importance of the colonial territory in the economy of the metropole (*O Intransigente*, 30 December 1947). Benguela's recovery from the crisis of the late 1920s and early 1930s stimulated the building industry and by the end of the 1940s local newspapers noted significant increases in the construction of new buildings in town (see, for example, *O Intrasingente*, 12 June 1948).

Although the fate of Benguela's harbour was still discussed in the press, its activity had reduced significantly. The recovery of the economy of the town was linked to the continued growth in exports from the fisheries industry and to the development of agricultural plantations in the region (Amaral, 1962). There were large sugar plantations and factories in the regions of Catumbela and Dombe Grande, while the sisal production developed in the interior of the province, in Cubal and Ganda. Amaral (ibid.) notes how the fluctuations of sisal prices on the international market affected the development of construction in Benguela. (See Map 3 in Chapter 1 for the geographical situation of these places).

Economic growth in the colony encouraged a significant increase in immigration from Portugal, in particular in the 1950s, and this influx had major economic and social and political impact on the local society. Table 8 shows the significant population growth experienced by Benguela between 1940 and 1960: from a population of 17,691 to a total population of 40,275. The characteristics of this expansion are further discussed in the next section, but it is worth noting here that while the size of the total population of the town increased 2.27 times, the white population increased almost six-fold in twenty years as a result of immigration.

Table 8: Population of Benguela from 1940 to 1970[90]

	White	*Mestiços*	Black	Total
1940	1,528	1,215	14,948	17,696[91]
1950	4,100	1,023	18,973	24,096
1960	8,706	3,148	28,421	40,282
1970	10,175	4,421	26,392	40,994
% of growth	565%	263%	76%	131%

Sources: Censo Geral da População, 1940; *II Recenseamento Geral da População, 1950*; *3º Recenseamento Geral da População*, 1960 and *Informações Estatísticas*, 1970; and Torres (1989: 101)

However, as Torres (1989) notes, Portuguese immigration did not significantly change the structure of the economy, which in 1960 was still strongly defined by trade and by a concentration of the "civilised population" in the tertiary sector, where many of them owned very small shops or worked as employers in other trading companies. Most of the immigrants from Portugal had little or no school education at all and few professional qualifications. In addition, as Amaral (1960: 54) points out, although most of these immigrants came from a

[90] Torres (1989), which I followed, used the population of the *Posto Sede do Concelho* of Benguela (at least for 1940, 1950 and 1960) whose area was slightly larger than what was considered in the census of the *Cidade* de Benguela. I decided to use the population of the *Posto Sede do Concelho de Benguela* as this area led to what is today the municipality of Benguela.

[91] The totals for 1940 and for 1960 are both higher than the sum of the number of whites, *mestiços* and blacks. This is due to the fact that in 1940 five people were classified as "other [racial] type"; this was the case for seven people in 1960.

very modest and often rural background, the majority refused to work in the rural areas or in the agricultural sector once they arrived in the colony. As Torres (1989: 106) states, despite the economic growth in the territory between 1940 and 1960, the number of salaried people decreased in comparison to the number of people owning their own business. In Benguela, the ratio between salaried people and people owning their own business went from two salaried people to one business-owner in 1940 to one to one in 1960, showing that many of the new immigrants were probably relatively unqualified individuals who opened small commercial establishments to make a living in their new town.

The development of Benguela's economy may be better understood if we compare it to the economic and demographic development of the neighbouring town of Lobito. Lobito's harbour, in operation since 1928, spearheaded rapid economic development in the new town. As Table 9 shows, Lobito's population also grew substantially. In 1940 both towns had similar sizes, but by 1960 the population of Lobito was already much greater than that of Benguela. However, it is in the increase in numbers of the black population that the difference between the two towns really lies. Benguela attracted black migrants (under *contrato*) mainly for the fisheries, but the harbour town of Lobito, with its railway, attracted the migrants in greater numbers. Those arriving in the two towns came in particular from the highlands further contributing to the Ovimbudo-isation of the coast. Chapter 6 refers to cases of individuals migrating from the Huambo region to Lobito during this period.

Table 9: Population of Lobito from 1940 to 1970

	White	*Mestiços*	Black	Total
1940	1,623	562	14,098	16,283
1960	10,474	1,556	38,393	50,424
1970	14,152	2,780	42,393	59,499
% of growth	771%	394%	201%	252%

Source: Torres (1989:101)

The difference became even more important in the 1960s, a period of even greater economic growth. In 1961, there were popular uprisings in several areas of the territory to protest against colonial occupation. These uprisings led to violent repression and to the growing presence of colonial troops to fight increasing national resistance and what was later called "the liberation war". However, the popular protests of 1961 also provoked the end of the colonial system in the form in which it had existed since the beginning of the XX century, and with it the end of the *Indigenato* and of the legal difference between *civilizado* and *indígena.* After 1961, the colonial administration introduced a series of social and economic policies that changed the colony very rapidly over the last twelve years of colonial rule (Neto, 2003).

For the first time, educational opportunities increased significantly, leading to a major increase in the school population: while in 1960–61 only 119,234 people (around 2.4% of the population) were registered in schools in the whole territory, in 1972–73 this number rose to approximately 600,000, more than 10% of the population (ibid: 4). New economic policies attracted external capital and favoured internal investment. Torres (1989) compares the period 1940–1960, when more labour was imported than capital and Portuguese immigrants arrived in considerable numbers, with the situation from 1960 onwards, when the importation of capital increased significantly, leading to considerable economic growth. Industrial development was particularly important in Luanda, Huambo[92] and Lobito, drawing increasing numbers of young black people into urban, waged jobs.[93]

However, even if some industrial development occurred in Benguela,[94] Lobito benefitted the most from economic development in the last period of colonial presence. Benguela continued nevertheless to be the capital of the district, thereby retaining a fairly significant number of civil servants.

Population, space and society

After the decline of the 1920s, Benguela entered a period of growth after World War II and this, together with increasing immigration from Portugal, spurred a construction boom. Amaral (1962) records the rise in the number of new buildings per year in Benguela, particularly during the 1950s when Portuguese immigration reached a peak: in 1948, 40 new buildings were constructed; in 1950, 39; in 1952, 86; in 1954, 101; in 1956, 100. It is during this period that the town started extending towards the sea, almost completely abandoning its interest in the paths coming from the *sertão,* as new, richer residential neighbourhoods went up in what had been Bairro Casseque in the 1940s. An old resident of Benguela once described to me how the area changed as modern residential houses were built in the 1950s and the 1960s. The area which they occupied ceased to be called Bairro Casseque, as if the new houses could not be connected to the term "*bairro*". As a result, the area called Bairro Casseque moved, with the name remaining attached to the *cubatas* and poor houses that existed on the southern part of the town.

The period after 1945 saw investment in urban development and infrastructure. Many of the main roads and avenues of the town were tarred and many of the city swamps were drained.

[92] With the industrialisation, Huambo became the second most important town in the country.
[93] Unfortunately, the results of the census of 1970 have never been published in full. It is not possible to access information on professions and economic status per racial category.
[94] Several factories opened during the 1960s and the fisheries continued to develop.

There were also improvements in water and electricity infrastructure, although even in the 1960s newspapers still reported complaints about failing water and electricity distribution. However, to the frustration of the municipal administration, the large *quintais* with their high walls, lingering signs of Benguela's past, were still to mark its landscape for many years.[95] It was also in 1945 that the first urban plan for the city was drawn up by the architect Fernando Batalha at the request of the municipality. However, that plan was not approved[96] by the colonial government and a new urban plan was designed at the beginning of the 1950s. The 1950s was a decade of efforts at urbanisation, efforts that remained fragmented. In its request to Fernando Batalha for an urban plan, the municipality had not included "the neighbourhoods for non-civilized population, as only the increase in the civilized population should be taken into account" (*O Instransigente* 1 de Maio de 1945, my translation). The urban plan, and therefore what was supposed to be the *cidade*, was completely associated with what was classified as the "civilized" population. Non-civilised residents of the urban space were not perceived as being part of the city. The "non-civilised population" was supposed to live in *bairros indígenas*. In 1948, a new law determined that "next to the urban centres (…) *bairros* for residence of *indigenas*" should be created.[97] This law pursued the spirit of segregation expressed in the laws enacted by the government of Norton de Matos. *Bairros indigenas* were to be inhabited by *indigenas*. Non-*indígenas* were not permitted in the *bairro* between 19.00 and 05.00. According to the legislation, *bairros indigenas* could however be located inside the *foral* of the *cidade*, which corresponded to the territory under the responsibility of the municipal administration.

It was however only in 1956 that regulations on the *bairros indigenas* were published, acknowledging the failure of the 1948 law "to settle the growing indigenous population in urban centres", referring to the increased migration from the rural areas to the urban areas in response to economic growth and beginning of industrialisation.[98] Due mainly to financial constraints, the *Regulamento* of 1956 encouraged people to build their own houses in the *bairros indigenas* or to have them built by agents other than the state (for example, cooperatives and employers). In addition, and also in contrast to previous laws, the

[95] In 1948, the municipality passed regulations to try to encourage the destruction of the *quintais* on the main roads, as these prevented "the transformation of the town into an attractive urban area endowed with good sanitary conditions" (*Boletim Oficial da Colónia de Angola, Edital nº30, Câmara Municipal de Benguela*, – III *Série* – nº44, 3 of November 1948). In an interview in January 1955 for the newspaper *Jornal de Benguela*, the president of the municipality complained about the numerous *quintais* still present on the main avenues of the town and about the lack of significant investment in real estate development in Benguela which would develop those areas.

[96] Apparently the plan was not approved because it was based on the map of Benguela drawn up in 1900. The urban plan later designed based on aerial photographs of the town (see *O Intransigent* of 28 October 1947).

[97] *Boletim Oficial da Colónia de Angola, Diploma Legislativo* nº2:097, Iª Série, nº 46, 17 November 1948

[98] *Regulamento dos Bairros Indigenas*, Approved by the *Diploma Legislativo* nº2:799, 9 May 1956.

Regulamento allowed for the use of "temporary" construction materials, which could be used by "those who [would] be satisfied with more modest residences". However, the *Regulamento* stated that "minimal conditions of hygiene should be observed"; and expressed the hope that, even if "temporary construction materials" were used, "order and alignment [would] give a character of permanence and stability". This insistence on alignment of houses, on order and on ideas of hygiene shaped notions of propriety in spatial structure as Chapter 5 explains. Another important difference from previous laws was the fact that non-*indígenas* could continue living in the neighbourhood if they wished. A few months later, *bairros indígenas* were officially created in several towns including the *Cidade* of Benguela.[99]

Several other pieces of legislation published in 1956 were concerned with the good application of urban plans, obliging major urban areas to follow strict norms of construction in accordance with such plans.[100] Norms for urban construction distinguished between urban and suburban areas. It is in the legislation published in 1956 that I found for the first time reference to "suburban areas", the distinction between urban and suburban and the use of the word *subúrbio*. The word *subúrbio* is not always correctly translated by the word "suburb" in English. As is the case in this legislation, in Portuguese *subúrbio* was also used to refer to the *bairros* of colonial cities. This has introduced connotations of "sub-urban", or not fully urban, to the word. This language might have been introduced with the new concerns with urbanisation and urban planning.

Finally in 1961 another type of neighbourhood for "worse-off and middle-class families" was created: the *bairros populares*.[101] A law to establish these was enacted after the uprisings of 1961 and, perhaps for that reason, the law did not refer to the legal statutory division of *civilizados* and *indigenas*. *Bairros indígenas* thus became *bairros populares*. A few years later, under the fund created to promote the construction of *bairros populares,* a plan was written up to develop new "popular neighbourhoods" in Benguela and Lobito (Distrito de Benguela, 1966). That plan was supposed to help provide housing to "rural migrants" coming to Lobito and Benguela in the 1960s. The document noted that these *cidades* had in both urban and suburban areas *cubatas* "of primitive aspect, without any urban or aesthetic conditions" which it was necessary to demolish. Given the colonial administration's lack of finance, the state demarcated land for people to build their own houses and provided sanitary equipment and infrastructure. In these *bairros populares,* two areas were

[99] *Boletim Oficial de Angola*, *Portaria* nº9:344, Iª *Série*, nº 16, 18 April 1956
[100] *Boletim Oficial de Angola, Decreto* nº40:742, Iª *Série*, nº 36, 5 September 1956 and *Boletim Oficial de Angola, Portaria* nº9:588, Iª *Série*, nº 51, 19 December 1956, a Regulation of *Decreto* 40:742
[101] *Boletim Oficial de Angola, Diploma Legislativo* nº3117, Iª Série, nº 23, 12 June 1961

considered: an area for permanent construction and an area for temporary construction where use of "impermanent" construction materials was permitted. As we will see in the remainder of the thesis, the dichotomy between "permanent" and "temporary" is still used to describe housing in Angola and carries important symbolic significance.

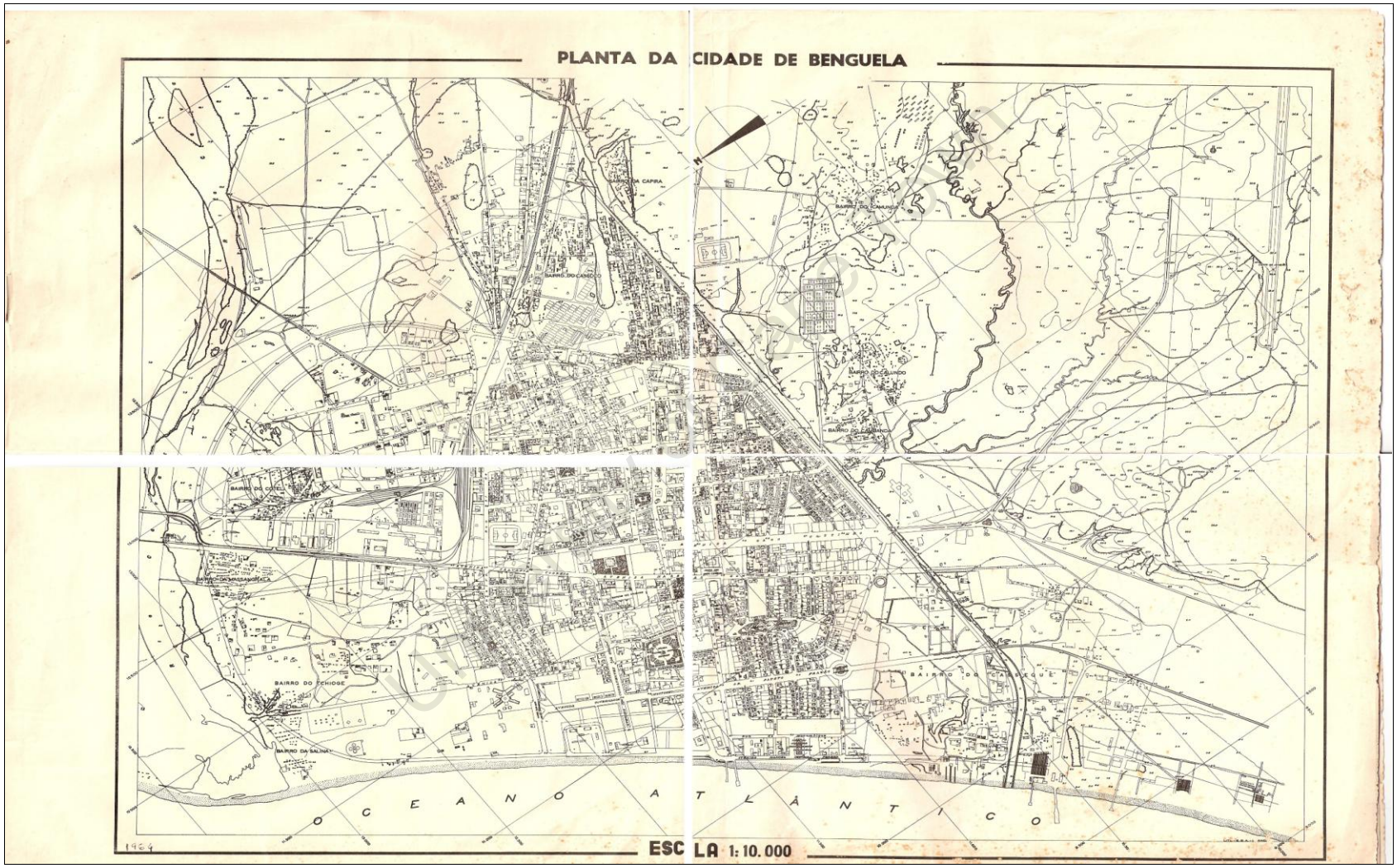
Of the *bairros* existing in Benguela in 1966, only Bairro Benfica, Bairro Cassoco (in the upper part of the map, see Map 7) and Bairro Fronteira (behind the railway line) were partly "urbanised", that is, the streets followed a grid and the neighbourhood benefited from public infrastructure such as piped water, electricity, and telephone lines (see Chapter 3 for a discussion on the concept of "urbanised"). Certain parts of Bairros Massangarala and Bairro Casseque received water and electricity services. Other *bairros*, such as Tchioge, Salinas, Cotel, Capira, Cambamba, Calundo and Camunda, were considered not urbanised at all and boasted neither public services nor basic sanitation. According to the plan in the years after 1966, several *bairros* were to benefit from some urbanisation effort; these included Camunda Nova, Camunda Velha, Benfica, Massangarala and Nossa Senhora da Graça. At present, in some areas of these neighbourhoods, some public services exist, such as access to electricity, and in parts of the neighbourhoods the houses are aligned along grid-like streets.[102]

The plan to construct *bairros populares* estimated the population of those bairros to be 18,400. In 1960, the population of Benguela was 40,275, almost half of whom lived in *bairros populares*, the majority of which did not have any public services. As Torres (1989) notes, the urban development which Benguela experienced in the 1950s mainly benefited the population of European origin, which had grown significantly.

[102] As we will see in Chapter 4, the *bairros* that were object of some formal urbanisation efforts, such as Bairro Benfica and Bairro Cassoco, were described as "*bairros quase cidade*" (neighbourhoods that are almost like a *cidade*).

Map 7: The City of Benguela in the 1960s

Source: The Municipality of Benguela



The growth in the white population[103] altered social relations in the town. As Amaral (1962: 51) notes, this increase was accompanied by a reduction in the number of interracial unions and a decrease in the growth of the population of *mestiços*. This then diminished the relative importance of *mestiços* and blacks within the population classified as *civilizada*. So, in the period between World War II and 1960, racial segregation – initiated after the beginning of the XX century – continued and intensified. However, although the growth of white population was significant in Benguela, their relative importance was less than that of the white population in other towns such as Lobito, Huambo or Luanda. As Messiant (1983: 546) notes, although segregation also intensified in Benguela, social relations across different racial groups continued to be shaped in other ways by old families and social groups whose long-held connections crossed racial boundaries. Nonetheless, it was certainly the white population who benefited the most from the economic growth of that period. Comparing the development of several towns in Angola, Torres (1989) shows how the construction boom experienced in these areas benefited the white population in particular and how this boom responded mainly to the needs (in housing and for commercial and industrial activities) of the colonial society. In addition, increasing racial segregation was also expressed spatially. In Benguela, while the growth of new buildings constructed from "permanent" materials grew by 872%, construction in poor materials declined. Torres (1989) explains this by noting that many of these houses were pushed to the periphery of the area of Benguela city. As the *cidades* grew, the distinction between *bairros* and *cidade* became more marked.

After the policy and social changes introduced in 1960, racial polarisation seems to have reduced, albeit slowly. Torres (1989) notes slightly greater racial interpenetration with the arrival of a higher number of black and *mestiços* families in middle-class neighbourhoods of Angolan urban areas and the residence of some poorer Europeans in *bairros* and *musseques*.[104] In Benguela, white families settled in *bairros* such as Bairro Benfica, Bairro Fronteira and Bairro Cassoco where many *mestiços* and black families lived as well.[105]

However, the situation in Angola changed rapidly in the 1970s. In April 1974, Portugal experienced a political revolution that ended the dictatorship in the country and led to the independence of its colonial territories in 1975. At Angola's independence, proclaimed in

[103] By approximately 5.7%, between 1940 and 1960, while the population of *Mestiços* grew by 2.6% and the black population by 1.9%,

[104] The survey carried out by Monteiro (1973) indicates that in 1973 in Luanda 3.7% of the residents of *musseques* were white (cited in Torres, 1989: 100).

[105] As described in Chapter 4, Manuela's Aunt Antonia lived in a house in Bairro Fronteira that had belonged to her white *madrinha*.

November 1975, the country's political, social and economic situation changed dramatically and, although migration to and from the cities continued, the reasons underlying the phenomenon were not solely of an economic nature.

Benguela after independence: Someconsiderations on social and spatial structure

Independence and wars: Major political, social and economic changes

As described in Chapter 1, Angola became independent in 1975. But Independence was a turbulent political process that led to wars that affected the whole country and involved the intervention of foreign armies. These processes major social and economic impact on the country.

One of the significant consequences was the departure of the great majority of the population of Portuguese origin in the period before and following independence in 1975. It is estimated that approximately 340,000 people left the territory during that period; approximately five per cent of the country's population (Hodges, 2001). The sudden departure of this population group had a significant impact on the territory. As the colonial policy had until 1961 not favoured the education of the population classified as *indigenas*, the exodus of the population of Portuguese origin meant also the loss of much of Angola's technical, entrepreneurial and administrative capacity. Thousands of factories, farms, small businesses and shops had to close or were abandoned. So, the war at independence, with the state of insecurity and destruction of infra-structures it provoked, together with the sudden deficit in human resources resulted in a profound economic crisis from which the country never really recovered until the end of the war in 2002 (ibid.).[106]

The departure of the population of Portuguese origin had also a profound demographic impact, particularly in urban areas, as most of this population group lived in urban centres. As many of the houses in the centre of Angolan towns were abandoned by their owners, as they left the country, these houses and apartments were occupied both by people from *bairros* of the *cidade*, and by people from the interior of the country, fleeing the areas violently affected by the war (see Chapter 1 for more information on post-independence wars in Angola). The departure en masse of population of European origin from Angolan urban areas and the occupation of the central areas of towns by former *bairro* residents shifted the

[106] The economic crisis was also deepened by the adoption, after independence, of political and economic policies of relatively rigid planning and strong centralization which did not stimulate local initiative (Hodges, 2001).

racial and social spatial structure which, as described in previous sections, had developed throughout the XX century towards a more marked social and racial differentiation, especially in towns such as Luanda and Benguela.

The loss, after independence, of management and technical capacity, added to the lack of funds led also to the weakening of urban administration and maintenance. In addition, urban services and infrastructure were also the object of several attacks during the war. Slowly the infrastructure of Angolan towns degraded – distribution of water and of electricity started failing, roads were rarely maintained, waste was not always collected. The loss of urban management capacity led also to the incapacity, for many years, of producing a vision and plan for the destiny of Angola urban areas. Like the rest of the country, Angolan towns went through the war, trying to survive.

Benguela's changing social and spatial differentiation

As Chapter 1 describes, during most than two decades Angolan urban areas received hundreds of thousands of "displaced people" fleeing rural areas which had been severely affected by more than two decades of war. Since the wars affected the interior of the country in particular, greater demographic pressure was exerted onto the urban areas located on the coast such as Luanda and Benguela. As Table 10 below shows, the population of the main coastal towns has increased significantly since independence. The population of the municipality of Benguela[107] increased tenfold between 1970 and 2005.

Table 10: Changes in the Population of Benguela, Luanda and Lobito

Year	Angola	Benguela	Luanda	Lobito
1970	5,588,000	40,994	480,367	59,499
1992 (1)	10.609.002	288,649	1,886,350	321,678
2000	13,000,300(2)	346.083 (3)	3,276,991 (2)	514.305 (3)
2005	16,1000,000 (5)	548,496 (4)	4,000,000	n.a.

(1): Estimates produced by the Ministry of Administration of the Territory, Angola, as a result of electoral registration in 1992
(2): Estimates of the Instituto Nacional de Estatística
(3): Estimate of Technoexportstroy, 1990
(4): Administração Municipal de Benguela, 2005
(5): Estimate, World Bank website

[107] After Independence, what was the territory of the *foral* of the Cidade of Benguela became the Municipality of Benguela (information from the ex-administrator of the municipality of Benguela). The area of the Municipality of Benguela is now divided into "zones" which are themselves divided into *bairros*.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the majority of the people who took refuge in the city of Benguela came from the interior of the province and from the Angolan Central Plateau (see also Republica de Angola, 2003), regions that had been almost continuously affected by war since 1978. Most of the war-displaced people coming to Benguela settled in its *bairros.* As the population of Benguela increased, these *bairros* grew and/or developed into new *bairros* (see Map 4). Given the weak capacity of the local municipal administration, these new areas did not benefit from any urban planning. New families would arrive, build their houses and settle with very little intervention from the municipal administration. In most of these areas there was no access to services such as water or electricity. So, until the end of the war, the city of Benguela expanded significantly, but this expansion was not directed or oriented by the local administration and was not included in a collective vision of the future of the city. At the end of the 1980s a new urban plan for Benguela was developed (Technoexportstroy, 1990), but for several reasons, including a new war in 1992, it was never implemented. As there have also been very few studies on Benguela's urban development since independence, there is also very little secondary information available.

In 1987, the distribution of the population between what were called areas of "planned housing" and "non-planned housing" was as follows: 87,900 people lived in the areas of planned housing; 80,100 lived in 'non-planned housing areas' (Technoexportstroy, 1990). Areas of planned housing were in fact the areas that followed an "urbanised structure" as defined earlier. These areas include what is called the *cidade*, but also areas of *bairros* such as Bairro Benfica, Bairro Fronteira, Bairro Cassoco, which counted as "planned-housing" and whose names do not appear explicitly in Table 11.

Table 11: Population of Benguela by Zone in 1987

Zone	Bairros	Population
A	Calongolote, Calundo, Cambanda, Camaninga, Camunda, Docota, Canequetela	63,030
B	Casseque A, Casseque B, Calohombo	28,181
C	Planned housing: 35,100; non-planned housing (Capira, Caponte): 3,771	38,871
D	Planned housing: 5,200; non-planned housing (Pecuária, Caingoma, Seta, Calomanga): 9,534	14,734
E	Planned housing: 12,150; non-planned housing (Tchioge, Massangarala, Cotel, Salina): 11,034	23,184
Total		168,000

Source: Technoexportstroy, 1990

In 1966, less than half of the population of Benguela lived in *bairros* and in areas of informal housing (see above), but as Table 11 shows, by 1987 this number had increased significantly: almost 75% of the population lived in areas where housing had not been planned by the municipal administration. This proportion increased still further as the

intensity of war increased in the 1990s and the number of war-displaced people coming to town rose in tandem. Table 12 does not show the distribution of the population by *bairros* but it is possible to see that in the zones where housing is totally non-planned (zones A, B and F which appeared after 1990), population growth was considerable. It is therefore probable that the proportion of the population living in non-planned housing areas has increased even further and that the majority of the population living in those areas are migrants, in particular war-displaced people. As mentioned in Chapter 1, more than 80% of the respondents in the *bairros* of Calombotão, Morros and Esperança in Zone B were not born in Benguela.

Table 12: Population of Benguela by Zone in 2005

Zone	Population
A	155,236
B	75,697
C	45,017
D	37,273
E	79,832
F	155,441
Total	548,496

Source: Administração Municipal de Benguela, 2005

While dramatic changes, to the social and economic differentiation between areas of planned housing and areas of non-planned housing, that is, between *bairro* and *cidade,* followed independence; these distinctions have been changing once more since the end of the war in 2002. As the economy of the *cidade,* like the economy of the country, recovers and as real estate values rise again, spatial differentiation in accordance to economic capacity is again becoming significant. Residents who had occupied houses and apartments in the *cidade* after independence are now selling them to better-off families and moving to *bairros* where, with the product of their sale, they can build a house and maybe open a business. Houses and buildings in the *cidade* are being renovated and although there is some investment in *bairros* difference between *cidade* and *bairros* increases again.

However, as I will show, despite changes in urban social and spatial structure over time, fundamental notions of *cidade* and *bairro* and imaginings of proper houses and proper lives have never really lost their power of differentiation.

Chapter 3: Cidade and Bairro: Classification, Constitution and Experience of Urban Space

"The *cidade* is where it is all urbanised", said Patricio, "where houses are bigger and the construction is organised by the state." The notion of "fully urbanised space" is the most commonly and immediately mentioned characteristic of the *cidade*. Angolan towns are often described in dualist terms that refer to, on the one hand, a "centre", "an urbanised town", the product of the "colonial town" and, on the other, its "periphery", the "sub-urbanised town", with precarious and non-planned housing and poor services (Colaço, 1992; Amado, Cruz and Hakkert, 1992; Raposo and Oppenheimer, 2007; Raposo and Salvador, 2007). This dualist description of Angolan urban space is most commonly expressed in the case of Luanda through the terms of *baixa* and *musseque* or *asfalto* and *musseque* and in the case of Benguela through *cidade* and *bairro*.

However, the reality of Angolan towns does not always correspond to this strict conceptual duality: urban spaces classified as *cidade* and *bairro* are not necessarily always easy to differentiate, *bairros* and *musseques* are quite diverse and, as some residents of Angolan towns note, *cidade* seems to have acquired some of the characteristics of *musseques* and *bairros* (Amado, Cruz and Hakkert, 1992; de Carvalho, 1997). These categories – *baixa* and *musseque*, or *asfalto* and *musseque* and *bairro* and *cidade* – are, nevertheless, widely employed to classify urban space, and their use is entrenched in Angolan society. In addition, as de Carvalho (1997) points out, as categories these terms carry implicit value judgements about urban space, and about practices and objects associated with it.

Looking at the case of Benguela and using Bourdieu (1979), I argue that *cidade* and *bairro* function as classificatory schemes with strong symbolic and structuring power. This means that both *cidade* and *bairro* evoke relationships and explicit and implicit meanings that are related to material reality but which have also been built through social and historical relationships and may therefore "overcome" material reality. *Cidade* and *bairro* have become embodied classification devices which carry other meanings and associations that also serve classificatory functions. Objects, practices and people who can be associated with *cidade* become valued as a result, or devalued if they are associated with the category *bairro*. Additionally, following Bourdieu, who argues that different social conditioning, that is, exposure to diverse social and historical experiences, may produce diverse embodied dispositions and representations, I wished to explore how people who live in Bairro Calombotão perceive space in urban areas, how they classify it and what the material and symbolic basis is for those classifications and differentiations.

The chapter demonstrates that both *cidade* and *bairro* have strong symbolic and structuring power. However, while spatially *cidade* evokes urbanised space, order and the "proper place" (de Certeau, 1990), *bairro* carries negative perceptions and is associated with the sub-urban and with disorder and chaos. I argue that the symbolic power of *cidade* is predicated on historical social, economic, cultural and political relationships with "development". *Cidade* seems to be the place where development happens. But, as I argue below, the notion of "development" has a double connotation: it signifies both access to a materially easier life (material development) and to ways of life perceived as being of "superior condition"; that is, as *avançados* (advanced, developed). Inspired by Bourdieu (1979), I call this "ontological" development. As a result, *cidade* is not only the place where it is possible to live a proper material life, but it is also the place where one becomes a proper person – at least in terms of prevailing understandings of propriety and its relation to personhood.

"The *cidade* has everything"

As Joel Laurindo said, "The cidade has everything, all the conditions [for a materially comfortable life]: electricity, water, telephone"[108], while, as Quim said, "the *bairro* has nothing". The fact that the *cidade* "has everything" has important implications for people's material lives but, as I describe below, it also has a significant impact on people's perceptions of their value as persons. Life in the *cidade*, and in all the *bairros* that can be associated to it, appears comfortable and much easier than in the "pure *bairros*" (see the discussion below on the idea of a "pure" *bairro*). There is also something of "this is how life should be lived" that resonates with imaginings of a proper (material) life. This idea of "propriety" (de Certeau, 1990) through access to services is perfectly illustrated by Antonieta's description of the effects of access to water and electricity on people and on their everyday lives. This extract is taken from a conversation we had about the differences between the *bairro* and the *cidade*.

Antonieta in her house: Propriety and proper services

"You know, people change through water," said Antonieta, looking directly at me as if what she was saying was obvious. *"If you have water you may bath two, three times a day. Then you change… If you have [electric] light and water you change. If you light your house with paraffin lamps there is a difference. If I live in the [electric] light there is a difference. Those*

[108] This expression "to have all the conditions" is very common in Angola and often used to refer to the *basic* material conditions required for a life lived with minimum comfort, but also with a minimum of dignity which, as I will show, is related to access to material goods.

who work with oil lamps alone…. everything becomes darker. For example, if you don't have money and burn ashes with the paraffin [of the lamps] and burn it again, and again, the smoke is dark and gets into you and your clothes and smells. You become darker. The house becomes darker and smells; the cooking pots become dark as well… "In this way, one is left out a little …" And then she added more lightly*. "Well, but now, with these small generators people are developing a little."*

Antonieta's words point to several of the dimensions of the concept of the *cidade* as a fully urbanised space. First of all, there is the idea of a "proper (material) life" in a place that contains "all the material conditions". People in the *cidade* have access to piped water, electricity and telephones, to all necessary services to have a "good life", and can therefore live proper (material) lives. (I return to the notion of proper life – "an organised life" - below and in Chapter 5.) For Antonieta and others, the lack of access to basic services leads to feelings of exclusion.

Secondly, she indicates how material difficulties and a lack of access to proper services affect one profoundly as a person; in one's body, one's smells, one's looks, and one's self-presentation. What Antonieta describes is the way in which an "improper" material life may lead to an "improper" self and, conversely, how a proper material life can construct a proper self – "If you have water you may bath two, three times a day. Then you change [for the better]."

Finally, Antonieta's words suggest a relationship between the urbanised space and the services it usually offers, and the notion of development, of "advancement", of moving forward. In Antonieta's words, (full) development does not exist in the *bairro*, since these services are not present in those areas. But, since people (at least some) have now access to generators now they are developing a *little*.

This relationship between *cidade*, its urbanised structure (with access to services) and development was expressed by many other people I met in Calombotão. Quim, for example, talking about his brother Zico, who had been living with Manuela in the *cidade* since he was very small (see Chapter 4), said to me:

> "Zico does not want to return to the *bairro* yet because the *bairro* has no electricity, because here the houses are not good, because they are not organised [meaning, in lines]. He will come only when the buildings are better constructed" [that is, when there are more houses made of cement bricks, more houses placed along lines].

Filipe, establishing the same type of relationship between "urbanised" structure and development, said:

> "But, you know, today the *bairro* has more constructions, it is already more developed. But what I would really like it to have is a more organised structure along straight streets, piped water, and electricity. We have had no access to electricity for more than a year."

Filipe and Quim highlight the importance of "construction" and a "grid-like structure of streets", which are, as I discuss later, important dimensions of the "urbanised space". Of course, the presence of services such as piped water, electricity and telephone (of "material development") could also be characteristic of rural areas. But in the context of Angola, a country that saw most of its infrastructure destroyed by long wars, these characteristics have for many years been mostly urban and are perceived as such. In reality, they have been more than urban – they have been the characteristic of urban areas situated on the coast, which suffered less from the effects of the wars. And, as I have described, they have been the characteristics of certain areas of these urban areas – mostly of spaces classified as *cidade* within urban areas.

Filipe's and Quim's association between "construction", "the organisation of construction" (important dimensions of the urbanised space) and development was expressed by many others in Calombotão, in contexts ranging from informal conversations during everyday activities, to formal interviews and mapping exercises. However, those constructions (houses, mostly) needed to be built in cement brick for the link to development and "the urbanised space" to be made. One day, I was driving around in Calombotão with Manuela in a part of the neighbourhood which she had not visited for some time. Looking at houses built recently of cement bricks, she said, surprised, "Look at these big new houses. This is becoming more developed. This is becoming more beautiful." As I show in Chapter 5, houses and the ways in which they are built are important dimensions of a proper life, of "an organised life". What I would like to stress here is how, like Filipe, Manuela had associated (proper) "construction" with development. In addition, Manuela's words suggested a relationship between a certain type of construction and beauty. Her comment and its associations suggest that "urbanised space" is not only more developed, but also more beautiful. They revealed a certain aesthetic value of space organisation in which "urbanised" space" is equated with beauty.

Constitution of the urban space

The dualist perspective on Angolan urban space

Like other towns that are the product of a colonial history, Angolan towns are usually described in dualist terms. Referring to major African urban areas and to towns of African Portuguese-speaking countries in particular, Morais and Raposo (2005) suggest the existence of "two distinct coexisting models" in these spaces: The "model of the colonial town", which still "persists in its urban fabric and in the architectonical language of the administrative, economic, cultural centre" and in the residential areas of the elites, and another model of town, "at its margins", peripheral, where material conditions are precarious and spatial organisation has not followed any specific urban plan (see also Oppenheimer and Raposo, 2007). Looking at Luanda, Colaço (1992) refers to the existence of

> a fundamental cut, a fundamental division within the urban space, a heritage of its colonial past: on the one hand "a centre", blocked in its growth, confined to a reduced space, centre of main city functions (administration, commerce, industry, etc.), surrounded by a modern residential area, with a good social and collective equipment; on the other hand the *musseques*, populated areas of the periphery, still expanding, with a non-planned habitat, with predomination of self-built precarious housing, with no hygienic conditions, no sanitation, mainly residential. (p.8, my translation).

The portrayal of Angolan towns tends generally to privilege the use of dichotomies. In relation to Luanda, Colaço (1992) suggests a classification of urban space beyond a simple dichotomy, by describing the city as structured in three distinct areas, "a modern area, an area of transition and a periphery"; and in "Ana a Manda" de Carvalho (1989) adds to the pair "*baixa* and *cidade*", the term *praia* (the beach), to refer to the area of the city bordering the sea where *Muxiluanda* fishermen lived, whom the author was studying. Despite such exceptions the description of Angolan urban areas through the use of dichotomies is still the most common. In Luanda, the dichotomous terms are "*baixa* and *musseque*" and in Benguela, "*cidade* and *bairro*".[109]

The dichotomous terms have changed through history. As we have seen in Chapter 2, in Benguela during the XIX and part of the XX centuries, spatial divisions of the city were described by the dichotomy *cidade* and *bairros indígenas* or *cidade* and *sanzalas*. In post-colonial Benguela, probably because terms such as *bairros indígenas* and *sanzalas* were too closely associated with the colonial order, the dichotomy has become *cidade* and *bairros*. Other terms have been used in the literature and in ordinary descriptions of urban space

[109] Dual categories are also found in the description of other African cities. Devisch (1995) studying Kinshasa, notes the deepening "hiatus" growing between the quarters called *la Ville* and the "ever-expanding African settlements in town, called *la Cité"* (p.598); Raposo e Salvador (2007) refer to *cidade* and *caniço* for Maputo.

such as *cidade do asfalto* (asphalt city) and *musseque* / *bairro*, *cidade de cimento* (cement city) and *musseque* / *bairro*. As Colaço (1992) points out, other dichotomies appear, some of which are more "technical" in their individual terms: "urban and peri-urban areas",[110] "urbanised and semi-urbanised areas", "integrated and sub-integrated neighbourhoods". However, as the author stresses, whatever the terms of the dichotomy, they always express the "fundamental cut", a "fundamental division in the urban space" which seems to be perceived as a basic characteristic of Angolan urban areas. In reality, this perception of a fundamental division within the urban space can be found and is critiqued in other descriptions of cities focusing on modernists interventions on the urban space (see, for example, Scott, 1998 for several modernist interventions around the world; Bank, 2001, for a discussion of these processes in Southern Africa, in South Africa in particular).

This usage is found not only in technical and academic approaches, such as those described above, but also permeates everyday conversations and is commonly used in works of literature[111] and in the media (in newspaper articles, and in radio and TV accounts of urban life). In sum, these dichotomies and the words that compose them are part of the common language of many Angolans, especially of those living in urban areas who, living and moving across towns, have learned to perceive and make spatial distinctions.[112] However, although terms are in common use, the way these words are used to classify urban space may not be the same across Angolan society. As I discuss later, the use of these categories may vary, depending on an individual's experience of the urban space (where s/he lives, where s/he goes in town and how), on history and on past social experiences (Bourdieu 1979). As I argue below, these dualities function as "classificatory categories" which have been socially and historically constructed, and embodied by individuals. Their use may depend not only on material reality but on symbolic values sedimented over time (ibid.).

Angolan towns are more complex than the common dichotomies suggest. Studies privileging anthropological approaches stress the diversity and the complexity of *musseques* or *bairros*. For example, Robson and Roque (2001) draw attention to the important material

[110] The terms "urban and peri-urban" have become very common in policy discussions and papers.
[111] See in particular the works of prose and poetry of, amongst others, Agostinho Neto, Viriato da Cruz, Antonio Cardoso (who has written a book entitled "Baixa e Musseque"), José Luandino Vieira, Aires de Almeida Santos and Ernesto Lara Filho.
[112] In Luanda, the term *bairro*, which is can also be heard in everyday conversation, is also used to refer to the administrative division of the town and reference can be made to "Bairro Azul" or "Bairro do Maculusso" which are perceived to be located in the "urbanised" part of the town. The term *baixa* is perhaps becoming old-fashioned, in particular for the younger generation, although it can still be heard in everyday conversation. Sometimes, "*cidade"* can also be heard, which may be the result of Luanda having hosted great numbers of war-displaced people and migrants in general coming from other regions of the country who were probably used to other ways of referring to the urban space. The term *musseque* however is still very current and refers to what is perceived as the "non-urbanised space".

heterogeneity of the Luanda *musseques* in terms of the type of construction and of building materials used in the construction of the houses; the organisation and structure of the space; access to services such as water and electricity, and so on. Oppenheimer and Raposo (2007), referring to Luanda, point out also the diversity of its *bairros*, each of them possessing its own history, having emerged in different periods, with people coming from a variety of places, and presenting quite diverse patterns of spatial occupation. Neat spatial boundaries reflecting the dualist classification are also difficult to trace. Historical processes of urban development and change within Angolan cities during both colonial and post-colonial periods make it very difficult to delineate clear boundaries between cidade and *bairro* or *baixa* and *musseque* (see Messiant, 1989, and Chapter 2). In addition, as a result of migration, war-displacement, rapid population growth during the 1980s and 1990s, and a lack of administrative capacity within local state administration, many empty spaces within the area classified as *cidade* were occupied by people who built their own houses, thus creating within the *cidade* areas that appear similar to *bairros*.

Given the diversity within both *cidade* and *bairros*, I realise that the dualist perspective rests on a differentiation between what falls under the rationality of urban planning and what does not. Even if some authors examine the historically constructed social and economic relationships within the urban space, what is emphasized in most descriptions of Angolan urban areas is the difference between two areas perceived as distinct within the urban space: on the one hand, what is perceived to be the "urbanised area", the result (at least initially) of a state vision and of a rational exercise of urban planning, with its straight streets, functional infrastructure and services; and, on the other, the "non-urbanised" area, usually the result of individual initiative, outside any rational state provided urban plan, with poor infrastructure, and few public services.

In addition, what is classified as *cidade*, the "urbanised area" – the product of the urban plan – functions as a reference to an ideal town, with its structure and organisation. The urbanised area is what is valued. This is clear in historical and contemporary terminologies: the term *cidade* is maintained, whereas the other term of the dichotomy may vary with time and space – *bairro indígena*, *sanzala*, *bairro* were used in different historical times, while *musseque* is employed in Luanda and *bairro* in Benguela and in other Angolan towns. The permanence of the term *cidade* suggests that there is no uncertainty as to its status and legitimacy, unlike its surroundings which seem to be something other than *cidade*, uncertain in form, various in nomenclature and existence.

The stability of the term *cidade* suggests that what we classify as *cidade* is what de Certeau (1990) calls "place". According to de Certeau, "the law of the proper" reigns in a place (ibid: 173). Here, a specific order commands the distribution of its elements; in a place, "each of its elements is situated in its 'proper' location, a location that is unique and which defines it. (…) [A place] implies an indication of stability" (ibid, my translation). For de Certeau, a place is opposed to "space". While a place implies a fixed order and stability, a space is animated by the variety of movements deployed there, "a polyvalent unit of conflicting programs and contracting proximities" (ibid.) that can always produce original combinations and results. Drawing from this, one might argue that dualist perceptions structure Angola's urban areas into a "place" – "the urbanised area", which I will call the "urbanised place", the site of the "proper town", the legitimate form of urban space – and a "space" – "the sub-urbanised area", or the "sub-urbanised space", the "improper", the (too) plural, the (un)ordered. Indeed, it is revealing that policy-makers and residents alike use the expression "anarchical construction" to refer to building in areas classified as *bairros* and *musseques*. The *cidade*, the "place", represents the form that the town should take, what should be there; the rest, *bairro*, *musseque*, is perceived as the periphery, which does not represent the order that urban areas should have. Implicit in this distinction lies the impression that the space perceived as *bairro* (or as *musseque*) is excluded from the "legitimate town", as though it is not properly urban. Recall from Chapter 2 that there may be a lingering equation between *bairro* and rural areas. Thus, when references are made to the city of Benguela, the *bairros* are not included, as if they were not *yet* part of the city of Benguela, the "*Cidade das Acácias*".[113] Although they are part of the municipality of Benguela and their population is counted as living in the municipality of Benguela, the *bairros* do not fall into the imagining of the city of Benguela.

Since the "urbanised place" is the reference point and is what has value, negative value judgements are often implied in relation to *musseques* and *bairros*. De Carvalho (1997) draws attention to how often the expression "*mussequização* of Luanda"[114] was heard during the 1980s. This expression was used mainly by residents of the "urbanised place" to indicate their disappointment at how, from the end of the 1970s, the *baixa*, the "proper town", seemed to have acquired some of the negative characteristics of what was perceived as the *musseque* – its decaying buildings similar to the poorly built houses in the *musseques*, its decaying infrastructure equated to the lack of infrastructure of the *musseque*, its inadequate public services reminiscent of the scarcity and unreliability of such services in the *musseques*. Referring to the same period and to the population growth and pressure on

[113] Lining its streets, Benguela has many acacia trees, hence the town is sometimes called the *"Cidade das Acácias*" (the City of Acacias).
[114] The word *mussequização* ("musseque-ization") is a neologism formed from the word *musseque* to express the fact of becoming, turning into a *musseque*.

services in Luanda, Amado, Cruz and Hakkert (1992: 42) say that "the city of Luanda is no longer urban and has become sub-urban, in the Portuguese sense of *subúrbio*". As mentioned in Chapter 2, the word *subúrbio* has also been used in Portuguese to refer to the poor neighbourhoods of colonial cities and has acquired connotations of "sub-urban", or not fully urban.[115]

From what is described above, we see that what is actually valued is an idealised image of the city. De Certeau (1990) calls this the "city as concept", the city that has been established by "utopian urban-planning discourse" (p.143, my translation). According to him, such a "city", the product of minds and discourses, seeks to produce a proper space where the "plural" resulting from the diversity of social practices is rationally organised. It is an "urban space" that has been transformed into an "urban place" by the structuring, organising and ordering operations of the urban plan. And, as de Certeau points out, the "organising and ordering operations of the urban plan" seek also to order and rationalise social practices, ways of living in the urban space. Bank (2002: 66) quoting Rabinow (1989) notes that urban planning in France was an intervention both in space and in the lives of its inhabitants, "treating both as matter to be formed and normed at will", "producing a *plan de ville* and a *plan de vie*". In South Africa, Bank notes, the new format for township and housing design proposed in the 1950s by the local authorities of East London sought "to avoid spatial chaos, disorder and moral degeneracy associated with the old location strategy" (ibid: 68). Chapter 2 shows that from the beginning of the XX century, attempts to reorganise space in the Benguela were also attempts to order ways of inhabiting and living in the town. There is a relation then between a proper space and proper residents.

As Ferguson (1999) demonstrates in relation to the dualist perspective on rural–urban relationships, this mode of perceiving urban spaces in Angola implicitly conveys an evolutionist view of the urbanisation process: *bairros* and *musseques* are generally perceived as not fully urban, but rather as being in the process of becoming urban. Asked to elaborate on his distinction between Calombotão and the space he called the *cidade,* a male, a long-time resident of Calombotão, said, "This is not urban, this is almost rural, or better, this is sub-urban." In his study of Kinshasa, Devisch (1995: 602) also notes how for many residents of that city, *les Cités* "were assumed to refelect and maintain the old ways of the village life" which were seen as backward. The author refers also to a "whole range of spatial imagery" which "undergirds the pattern of relationships developed between Cité and Ville" in Kinshasa.

[115] See also Oppenheimer and Raposo (2007: 106) for a similar use of the verb *suburbanizar-se*. However, in the same article these authors use the same verb to refer to the growing relative importance of the *subúrbios* in the cities of Luanda and Maputo (ibid: 108).

For this author, this "imagery draws on the colonial portrayal of *la Ville* against the *village*, the last being very often confused in the colonial discourse with 'the bush" and is frequently linked to antinomies such as progress/backwardness (ibid: 600).[116] As we have seen in Chapter 2 and will be further discussed in Chapter 4 through Manuela's life, rural areas are also sometimes in Angola associated with *mato* (the bush) and opposed to *cidade*, which also carries the negative association to *atraso*.

It is this evolutionist view that Amado, Cruz and Hakkert (1992) implicitly adopt in their description of Luanda at the beginning of the 1990s and particularly in the allusion to the "rurbanization" of the town (a term the author adopts from Stren, 1986), "denoted by a mixture of rural and urban features and cultural patterns". For Amado, Cruz and Hakkert (ibid.), the new residents of Luanda who migrated to town for war-related and economic reasons live in the city, but they do not belong to it, as they do not seem able to adapt to what a city is, to how a city functions. According to these authors, the effect of their non-urban way of life is to de-urbanise and partially 'ruralise' the city.

As referred in Chapter 1, dualism and evolutionism have permeated the analysis of rural-urban social change in Africa for many years. The questions have been around whether and how rural migrants in town became "urbanised", as rural migrants could be residents of towns, and still display "rural behaviour"; that could live in towns without becoming socially, culturally and economically urbanised.

For example in *Townsmen and Tribesmen,* Mayer and Mayer (1961) pointed to the differences between "Schools" and "Reds" in East London. "Schools" were Xhosa long-term rural migrants who had converted to Christianity, had gone to school and had adopted European cultural forms; and "Reds" were also Xhosa migrants who, although they lived in town for long-time, had refused those signs and continued to display what the author described as Xhosa traditional forms of social behaviour. In Mayer's view "Reds" lived in town but were not "urbanized" (see Ferguson, 1999: 87).[117] Dualist views of rural-urban relationships have since then been challenged. The situational approach developed by the anthropologists of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in the 1960s, for example, argued on the contrary for the capacity of rural migrants arriving in towns for rapidly adopting an urbanised

[116] In another text, also on Kinshasa, (Devisch, 1997), the author refers to the "villagisation" of the city. However, in an argument close to de Certeau (1990), for Devisch "villagisation" is a "counter-hegemonic force"; "a psychic and social endogenisation of modern city life" through which rural migrants appropriate themselves the "modern urban" (p. 573).

[117] See in particular Chapter 3, pp.82-122 for a review and a discussion of dualist approaches of rural-urban relationships, on which I have based the discussion I describe here.

behaviour. In their approach these anthropologists highlighted the ability of rural migrants to situationally select appropriate social behaviour, from a repertoire of possibilities from which they could draw depending on the setting (rural or urban) where they were (see Gluckman, 1961; Mitchell, 1966).[118] In his discussion of the dualist paradigm, Ferguson (1999: 88) points to how the "situational approach" was not "so much a rejection of dualism as a refinement of it", as this approach still retained the idea of "distinct and separate tribal and urban social systems", as well as the idea of "an evolutionary transition between these two systems". More recently, scholars have offered theoretical approaches that view rural and urban worlds as belonging to the same social, economic and cultural system. This was the case of the approach developed by scholars influenced by the dependency theory, such as Magubane, (1971) who, instead of looking into whether rural Africans were becoming urbanised, emphasised modes of capitalist and colonial domination of both rural and urban Africans. This was also the case of scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, who did not ask whether aspects of social behaviour in urban areas were possibly reminiscent of rural life or pure expressions of urban ways of living, but placed rural-urban relationships within broader political economic relations linking rural and urban areas (see for example Moodie 1994, quoted in Ferguson 1999).

However, even if, as Ferguson (1999: 91) says, the understanding of "culturally complex societies of southern Africa" as "transitionary hybrids or combinations of two 'basic', pure social types has become very hard to swallow", as I pointed out in Chapter 1, the dualist approach still "haunts us", both theoretically and empirically. Trying to counter the dualist paradigm, Ferguson (1999) was still confronted to "the puzzle of cultural dualism", that is, to what he describes as a "certain cultural duality", which he portrayed as "localist" and "cosmopolitan" cultural styles.

Similarly, in the case of Angolan cities, although "urban reality" is empirically more complex than the dichotomies imply, *bairro* and *cidade*, *baixa* and *musseque*, and other similar dichotomies are still very commonly employed. Why? I argue that these dichotomies function as "classificatory schemes" whose formation does not depend on material reality alone; it is important to understand these dichotomies in order to understand the persistence of dualist perspectives and their effect on how people inhabit urban spaces and craft lives for themselves.

[118] It is interesting to note that in *The City yet to Come*, Simone (2004) describes African urban life in ways that evoke the "situational approach". For example he says that "what appears to be parochially, narrowly drawn identities and practices may actually operate as markers in a complex social economy where actors attempt to participate in many different identities at the same time. This is a 'game' where individuals become different kinds of actors for different communities and activities." (p.10)

Classification and constitution of the urban space

In *"A propósito do que não sabemos sobre os musseques de Luanda"* ("On what we don't know about the *musseques* of Luanda"),[119] de Carvalho (1997) relates an episode from his fieldwork that is revealing of how categories such as "*bairro* and *cidade*", "*musseque* and *cidade*" operate. In one of his visits to the sea-side neighbourhood of Samba in Luanda, which had for long time been inhabited mostly by *Muxiluanda* fishermen and where de Carvalho had been working for many years, one of his regular informants, referring to new construction in the area, said, "This is becoming a *musseque.*" The author notes the vast amount of information that was offered to him in such a succinct and economical sentence through simple reference to the category *musseque*. Its use in that context distances the term from its etymological roots – the red sands of the soil of Luanda from which the term apparently derives – and refers to the "category *musseque*", that is to a mode of classification, thereby implying other meanings. The very short sentence used the descriptor *musseque* as a mode of classification of spatial organisation – the "typical residential configuration of the peripheries of Luanda". But de Carvalho goes on to remark that the category is commonly invested by a "pejorative" and "abstract" weight (that is, existing only mentally, at the level of representations) and is perceived as

> the expression of an explosion, of a gigantism, of an urban macro-cephalitic form that contains the germ of every threat, of all violence, of every kind of traffic, of every informality; as a result, of everything uncontrollable that every power – political, institutional and social – fears so greatly (…). (p.134, my translation).

By saying "this is becoming a *musseque*", de Carvalho's informant was not suggesting that the yellowish sandy soil of Samba was becoming red, nor was he *only* saying that their neighbourhood had acquired a similar spatial organisation to the "typical residential configuration of the peripheries of Luanda" (whose "residential configuration", as seen above, is in fact not particularly uniform); he was also expressing sadness about what he perceives as a negative development in his neighbourhood. He means more than the word *musseque,* in either its etymological signification or as a designation of a particular mode of spatiality, could signify. His use of the classification signalled a mood.

Similarly, I heard a conversation in Benguela that once again underlined the evolution of the use of the word *bairro* and the multiple layers of meanings which it has acquired.

[119] Although it was formally published in 1997, this text was first presented in 1991 in Luanda at the "I Fórum do Habitat Popular em Angola".

Etymologically, the term *bairro* refers to a unit of an established administrative division of the urban space – towns may be divided into *bairros* – and was in the past used mainly in that sense; however, its meaning has changed and acquired new and subtle nuances. Two female friends of mine, Paula and Joana, were trying to explain to each other where another common friend of ours lived. Paula knew approximately where her house was, but Joana did not. So, she asked Paula: "Do you know in which *bairro* she lives?" A look of pure puzzlement showed in Paula's eyes, who answered, "but … she does not live in a *bairro*". By this she meant "Obviously, our friend lives in the *cidade*; she is not the kind of person who would be expected to live in a *bairro.*" Paula's perplexed look demonstrated her difficulty in connecting her knowledge of our friend and the (implicit) meaning she attributed to the category *bairro*. For Paula, who had a slightly different social background from Joana and had grew up in a different part of town, the category *bairro* did not signal an administrative sub-division of the city of Benguela (that is, a neutral space); rather, it was a space loaded with meaning: outside the *cidade*, a space of sub-urbanisation, of disorder, of poverty, and, as I show, of non-development. And, certainly, a place where our middle-class friend would never be expected to live.

Paula's confusion was an expression of the symbolic power that the term *bairro* has acquired. Both *musseque* and *bairro* (and also *baixa* and *cidade*) evoke, in addition to particular material realities, other meanings that are not always explicit but that are potentially always present and that must be navigated in everyday thought and action.

Using Bourdieu (1979), I suggest that categories such as *cidade* and *bairro*, *baixa* and *musseque* function as socially widely shared "classificatory schemes". I argue that these are categories of perception through which many Angolans apprehend, construct and order the urban space in which they live and with which they interact. As Bourdieu (ibid.) suggests, it is through these internalised and embodied schemes of perception that social agents represent and structure the outside world. As I detail below, classificatory schemes have been shaped by history and have the capacity to shape the outside world. At the same time, by using those categories, social actors also constitute and structure the space to which these categories are applied: an area of the city may be classified as *musseque* or *bairro* because of some its material characteristics – type of housing, absence of tar-roads, non-aligned streets, for example – but as de Carvalho points out, because they were classified as *musseque,* they are also immediately "constituted" as areas of disorder, marginality, poverty.

If classificatory schemes have such a "constituting power" (Bourdieu, 1979), it is because they have acquired strong symbolic power: what they signify may be (and often is) relatively

independent of the material reality to which they are applied. Although categories such as *bairro* and *cidade* are used as signifiers of spatial differentiation, they have also acquired strong symbolic power and may both represent and evoke more than material reality – their classifying power does not depend *only* on those material features. As Bourdieu (1979) elaborates, classificatory schemes are incorporated by individuals through individual histories, but they have been also constituted through processes of collective history. They have evolved through time, very subtly changing, broadening and enriching their meaning. Thus, although these categories of perception are incorporated by individuals, they carry the imprint of social life in an historical perspective.[120]

Bourdieu (1979) points out that "the system of classificatory schemes is the opposite of a classification system based on explicit principles" (p.550, my translation). It is precisely the implicit logic of classificatory schemes that guarantees their work as effective social means of communication and as subtle modes of constitution and of ordering the outside world. In the common use of these categories, it is precisely the absence of the explicit, of any form of rational, reasoned understanding of classificatory schemes such as *bairro* and *cidade* that allows for their effectiveness – classificatory schemes and symbolic power breed in the implicit, in the fact that the symbolic associations and misty meanings they trigger have been embodied and compose our *habitus* (ibid.). The use of classificatory schemes and the full and immediate grasp of their signifying dimensions require a fine social knowledge – a "practical (and practiced) knowledge" as opposed to any form of intellectual or "scientific knowledge" (ibid.) – that enables one to apprehend multiple layers of meaning, many of them implicit or expressed in the tone of the voice, in a puzzled look, in the sudden emergence of a wrinkle on a face.

Bourdieu's approach combines mental representations, history and social structures in a constant dialectical relationship that allows for an *individual* relationship with the outside world, profoundly marked by *historical social* relationships. As I discuss below, Bourdieu's theory emphasises the relationship between mental structures, responsible for subjective representations of the outside world, and the social structures, in particular social divisions, of the outside world; and demonstrates the importance attached to the history of these social structures on the "conditioning power" they may have. Bourdieu (1979: 549) says,

> (…) through all hierarchies and all classifications inscribed in objects (for example, cultural objects) and in institutions (for example, the school system) or simply in the language, and finally through all judgements, verdicts, classifications, rappels à l'ordre [calls to order], that are imposed by institutions

[120] In Chapters 5 and 6, I will further explore the idea of how classificatory categories change with time and history, but still keep their classificatory power.

> especially organised to this end, such as the family or the school system, or those that emerge from encounters and interactions of ordinary life, social order is inscribed gradually on to our mind. Social divisions become principles of division that organise the vision of the social world." (my translation).

By linking "social divisions" to the "principles of division" used by social agents in their relationship with the outside world, Bourdieu emphasises the role of social structures, socialisation and social conditioning in the formation of classificatory schemes and, as a result, in the way we perceive the world. Given the link established between socialisation and classificatory schemes, there is also a strong relationship between social structures and "social formations" and ways of perceiving the world. For Bourdieu, "all agents of a specific social formation have in common a set of fundamental schemes of perception" (1979: 147, my translation). Although Bourdieu's approach is accused of being rigid and deterministic (see for example De Certeau, 1990 and Chapter 6), I understand historical processes as intervening to shape categories over time. I consider it important to establish that our life experience – and our material experience of the world – has shaped the way we perceive and experience that world. I argue, too, that individuals' lives are exposed to sets of social structures and events which can give rise to "social formations" that have in common shared ways of perceiving and structuring the world. With "social formation", I suggest the existence of social groups that are defined not only by multiple social characteristics of the present (gender, race, economic relations, education, political relations, and so on) but also by reference to social characteristics and events of the past. In the case of Angola, for example, significant social, political and economic changes exposed people's lives to conjunctures that led the constitution of "social formations". To appreciate all of this, one must take into account more than mechanical references to social structures. As a result, social formations contain also a degree of openness, diversity and mobility.

This approach emphasises the significance of historically formed social structures and suggests that what is conditioning us today is not only the material, objective form of contemporary social, economic and cultural structures, but also the hidden and symbolic significations of these structures that are always embedded in social relationships and which are the result of history. It is true that profound material differences distinguish the spaces classified as *cidade* and the spaces classified as *bairro*; but there is also a history of experience and classification of those spaces that has attached other meanings to the categories of *cidade* and *bairro*. In my view, categories such as *bairro* and *musseque* have shaped people's experiences and interpretations of their lives through a continuous (dialectic) interaction between practice of space and ways of conceptualising space: this dialectic relationship has changed modes of conceptualising (classificatory schemes)

throughout history and has also as a result changed modes of experiencing urban space. This continuous practice and embodiment of classificatory schemes contributes both to their entrenchment and their wide acceptance in society. Classificatory schemes are sometimes also institutionalised (through texts of law, school, church and other institutions), and therefore more strongly legitimised. Classificatory schemes may have been so strongly incorporated and for so long that they have become "naturalised". They have become the accepted and taken-for-granted way to describe practices and objects of the outside world. If, in addition, these forms of describing and classifying reality have been institutionalised, they have not only become "natural" but legitimate, the authorised way to apprehend what is given as reality. They have acquired a *doxic* dimension (Bourdieu, 1979).

If classificatory schemes are socially and historically constructed, this means that while these categories are widely used and entrenched in society, the way in which they are used and the meanings they hide are also "socially located" or linked to specific social formations – that is, the way they are used may not be the same across society. This is why, in the anecdote above, my friends Paula and Joana referred to the category *bairro* differently. The next section describes how the categories *bairro* and *cidade* are used in Calombotão and will explore the meanings associated with the terms.

Perceptions of urban space in Calombotão

The perception of the city of Benguela as structured into two distinct spatial areas – the *bairros* and the *cidade* – was shared by many people I met in Calombotão and arose in a variety of contexts, including in everyday conversations and practices, and in descriptions of their lives. Maria Kassoma referring to Manuela would say, "My daughter lives in the *cidade*", and João Fortunato would tell me that he worked in the *cidade*. People would speak of the possibilities (or not) of transport between their *bairro* and the *cidade*. The differentiation operated at a taken-for-granted level in everyday life.

Given that the categories *bairro* and *cidade* function as classificatory schemes, I was interested in knowing how they were used by residents of Calombotão, what their meanings were, on what material basis those meanings rested and what symbolic power they conveyed. Drawing on Bourdieu's view that classificatory schemes are linked to social conditioning, I hypothesised that in Calombotão the use and meanings of such classificatory categories might differ from what I know from academic and policy approaches and from their use and meanings for residents of other areas of Angolan urban space.

"This is not urbanised; this is a* concentrado populacional*"

Looking at the houses around us in Calombotão, João Fortunato said to me, "This is not urbanised; this is a *concentrado populacional.*" The literal translation of "*concentrado populacional*" is "concentration of population". By using the expression "*concentrado populacional"* in conjunction with "urbanised", João Fortunato wished to underline the lack of spatial order in Calombotão, as opposed to what is expected of an urbanised place. In his view, Calombotão is a space where people just gathered and settled randomly. However, the use of the verbal form "concentrado" (concentrated) renders the expression more formal than the use of the expression "*concentração de população*" which he could also have used. *Concentrado populacional* could also be translated by the more formal "population settlement" but this does not fully portray the idea of disorder that João Fortunato implied.

As João Fortunato's description indicates, and as the majority of my informants in Calombotão confirmed, the most immediate differences between *cidade* and *bairro* were of the same order as those described above and given graphic expression in Colaço's notion of the "fundamental cut": *cidade* is perceived as "the urbanised place" and the *bairro*, on the contrary, as a "sub-urbanised space". In this categorisation, *cidade* offers access to a good infrastructure and services (electricity, piped water, sanitation, land-line telephones) and to tarred straight roads. A crucial component of the urban is a certain orderliness in spatial organisation, a specific layout of houses and other infrastructure. People with whom I worked in Calombotão understand "urban areas" as having houses neatly aligned along straight streets. Some people gave material reasons for this, noting that if the houses are not aligned and the streets are not straight, water and electricity distribution becomes more difficult as cables and pipes cannot be laid down, but others seemed to value the symbolic dimensions of orderliness and their connotations, as I show below and in later chapters.

Through "cognitive mapping", in which informants sketch an area, Deborah Pellow (2006) sought to capture people's mental representations of Sabon Zongo in Accra, Ghana and from there to identify what was meaningful for them in their neighbourhood. To her great surprise, most maps obtained were "dominated by the grid", the straight street lines that spatially structured the neighbourhood, leaving out what the author saw as

> the vitality of street life, the scene of traders and regular provision stores, with the foot traffic, noises, smells, nodes of gathering, and the music that envelopes public spaces when families privatize them for celebrations (ibid.).

Pellow suggests that "the vitality of street life" was left out because people took it for granted and did not find it necessary to mark on their maps. She wonders whether some participants in the exercise felt intimidated and so reproduced a schematic map (see also Ross, 2004). In my opinion, the omnipresence of the grid may have also meant that the grid-like organisational of the space was important and meaningful for people, as it was for residents of Calombotão.

Together with the absence of a grid-like structure, my informants pointed to other characteristics that contributed to the impression of disorder, such as the fact that houses did not always face onto the street. In many *bairros*, house placement was a result of how the neighbourhood had grown and developed. As the population increased and with it the pressure on available space, many houses were built in empty spaces without regard for possible alignment of houses along potential roads. Some houses were built at the end of what could be the beginning of a future street, "closing those streets", as João Fortunato put it to me; other houses were built in the back of existing houses, some facing the back of those houses creating a narrow "corridor" (*beco*), others facing the opposite side. The absence of alignment and the lack of uniformity in how the houses were situated in relation to each other contribute to this impression of "no order" and thus of "absence of urbanisation".

As the population of Calombotão grew, with new immigrants and growing families, a further characteristic emerged that added to the impression of disorder. In a context of scarce material resources, many houses and small rooms (*anexos*) were built in the backyard of other bigger houses. As a result, there are now groups of houses that share the same gate and the same backyard. In some cases these different houses are shared by members of the same family, as with Joel Laurindo and his daughter, Maria Kassoma and her sons, João Fortunato and his son (see Chapter 5). However, in other cases, houses in the same yard are inhabited by people who bear no kin relationship to each other. These houses may be a source of rental income (see also Oppenheimer and Raposo, 2007). For example, Hossi, one of my interlocutors, built small houses around his own house that he rents out. Some or all of these houses may also be sold individually to strangers, as was the case with Bernardo who lived with his family in a house that shared the same backyard and main gate with others to whom they were unrelated and whom they did not know at all when they moved into the house.

This situation differs from informants' perceptions of the *cidade.* In their view, where houses in the *cidade* have *anexos,* these belong to the same family; the gateway leads to a cluster of buildings that are inhabited by one family. In fact, this is not strictly true of contemporary

cidades, where it is common for *anexos* to be rented out to non-kin. Some *anexos* have also taken other functions such as bars and restaurants or hair salons.

"Urbanised place" is associated with a linear ordering of streets and houses. This rational order, the "place" (De Certeau, 1990) produced by the urban plan, is contrasted with "a *concentrado populacional*". This association between spatial linear order and "urbanised place" is widely shared across Angolan society. State institutions are expected to provide the spatial plan: as a resident of Calombotão told me, "They [the state] should draw up the lines as they do inside [in the *cidade*] and make sure that everyone follows those lines." As a result, an urbanised place requires a certain degree of state control and intervention despite the fact that the state's involvement in the construction process is not always desired by residents.

In the *cidade,* the process of building a house requires engagement with the state at different stages of the process. In order to build a house in the *cidade*, one needs to request authorisation from the municipal administration to use the land, then to produce an architectural plan, and throughout to follow a series of bureaucratic procedures which, on the one hand, are too expensive for most of the residents of the *bairros* and, on the other, may submit the construction of the house in the *bairro* to a lengthy process, and above all, to a negative responsive by the building authorities. In the *bairro,* residents rely mostly on local *sobas* for authorisation to use the land and to build there. *Sobas* are accountable to local administrators responsible for the administrative *zonas* containing the *bairros*. But higher levels of state bureaucracy do not generally investigate the occupation of land in *bairros*, unless these are integrated in areas of potential economic interest, or when land in *bairros* become interesting for property development.[121] Unless something like this happens, *bairro* residents can avoid following state-established procedures for building a house. As someone told me, "One has to build the house quickly to avoid being spotted by a municipal agent. If he comes, one has to pay [bribe] him and continue building very quickly so that another agent does not come [before the house is built]." However, even if the house is finally built, land tenure and property are never legally secured and the house could theoretically be destroyed by the state. So, if the intervention of the state is perceived as necessary to build the foundations for an area to be urbanised and to be considered urbanised, the current legal procedures for construction do not make room for what happens *in reality* in the *bairros*. This provokes a particular relationship with the law and to what is legitimised by the law as being

[121] Since the end of the war, with economic growth and an increase in value of urban land, state bureaucracy follows up more closely the occupation of the land in urban areas, even in *bairros*. In Luanda in particular, urban land-related conflicts are quite common. Insecurity of land tenure in *bairros* has therefore increased (see, for urban land management, Development Workshop, 2003).

"urbanised": people desire to be included in "the urban" and in what is legitimised by the law, but they cannot afford to do so. Informants' feelings of exclusion from what is valued and legitimised surfaced regularly in the research. In the following section, I describe how residents of Calombotão mentally structure urban space in layers of "urbanised".

Layers of the "urbanised" and the structure of urban Space: **Cidade, bairros and bairros quase cidade**

Below I explore how residents of Calombotão structure and differentiate urban space taking into account the material characteristics of an "urbanised place" described above: space rationally structured by an urban plan produced by the state; the existence of a network of infrastructure and services; houses and infrastructure organised along lined tarred roads.This discussion allows showing that while material characteristics are important, classification of urban space is not only based on these characteristics.

Distance to the cidade

At first, for many of my informants in Colombotão, urban space was perceived as being structured in concentric rings defined by "degrees of urbanised". . At the centre of these concentric layers lay the *cidade*, the most urbanised ring of all, which was surrounded by peripheral rings whose degree of urbanisation "faded" as the distance between themselves and the centre increased. This view allowed many of my informants to define physical limits to the area which they called the *cidade*, limits which eventually were broadly similar to the ones shown on Map 4.

However, as conversations with my informants in Calombotão continued and as we together considered a range of areas of the municipality of Benguela and tried to decide whether they should be classified as *cidade* or as *bairro,* the importance of distance to the *cidade* and the model in concentric rings was challenged and a more nuanced picture emerged. The model of an urbanised centre surrounded by rings of less and less urbanised areas as distance from the *cidade* increased did not seem to correspond to the actual structure of Benguela's urban space. Although it is true for many *bairros* that the further they are located from the *cidade* the fewer characteristics of "urbanised" (as defined above) they exhibit, this is not the case for all *bairros*.

For example, while Bairro Camunda (see Map 4) is physically closer to the area classified as the *cidade* than Bairro 70 and Bairro 71, these later *bairros* are perceived as being more urbanised than the former, since they have straight streets along which the houses were built and have service infrastructure such as electricity and piped water. The same is true of

Bairro dos Navegantes, a neighbourhood adjacent to Calombotão. Because of the grid-like structure of its space, the existence of water and electricity infrastructure and the relatively spacious residential houses, Bairro dos Navegantes is classified by my Calombotão informants as a *bairro "*almost *cidade".* As one of my informants said, "Bairro dos Navegantes is not called *cidade* because it is located outside the centre and surrounded by *bairros*, otherwise it would be *cidade.*" Bairro dos Navegantes was built towards the end of the 1960s in an empty area of the south of the town as a residential neighbourhood for middle-class families. At the end of the 1970s, as the war in the interior of Benguela Province erupted and war-displaced people start arriving in town, the areas surrounding Bairro do Navegantes were occupied without any urban plan in what came to be called Bairros Calohombo, Esperança and Calombotão.

Criteria other than distance to the *cidade* were also significant in comparing Bairro Calombotão with other Benguela bairros. Calombotão is located further from the *cidade* than *bairros* such as Bairro Calohombo and Bairro Esperança. None of the three bairros are considered by their residents or by others as urbanised. They are perceived as "pure *bairros*" as one informant put it, or the epitome of a *bairro*. However, some of my informants see Calombotão as being more urbanised and thus better than Bairro Esperança or Bairro Calohombo, which are located much closer to the *cidade*. Bairro Calombotão is considered to be better organised (it had a few large lined streets), and to have more space between houses and better transport. Despite the proximity of Bairros Esperança and Calohombo to the *cidade,* Calombotão's associations with what is defined as "urbanised" mean that it is perceived as a better *bairro*.

Thus, the importance of specific material features perceived as "urban" result in the classification of some apparently *bairro*-like areas as being "*quase cidade*" ("almost *cidade"*). Describing Bairro dos Navegantes, Joel Laurindo said that it was almost urban; not really urban but possibly suburban.

Bairros *that are* quase cidade

Informants identified *bairros* such as Bairro Benfica, Bairro da Peça, Bairro dos Navegantes, Bairro 28, Bairro Massangarala, Bairro Goa-Casseque, and a few others (see Map 4) as being outside the *cidade* limits yet not "pure *bairros*" despite their appellation. This is what many people seemed to indicate by saying, for example, "Bairro Benfica is *quase cidade*; but since it is called *bairro* it is a *bairro*". However, as someone pointed out to me, it was a *bairro* of a different status if compared to Bairro Calombotão. It could be said to be "a peri-urban

bairro", with possible associations to the urban while Calombotão would be seen as a "pure *bairro*".

I became interested in these "*quase cidade*" areas for several reasons. Firstly, they showed that between the conceptual spaces of *cidade* and *bairros* other areas existed, and that a dualistic perspective on urban space therefore portrayed that space poorly. Secondly, the impression that they were classified as *bairros* at least partially because they were labelled *bairros* exposed the symbolic and constituting power of the designation *bairro* as I discuss above. Even if many of their material characteristics suggest the qualities of an "urbanised place" and therefore of *cidade*, they were still apparently perceived as *bairros* because they were labelled so. Thirdly, I was hoping that by exploring the apparent contradiction between the way they were classified and their material characteristics, other non-material bases for distinctions between *bairro* and *cidade* would also emerge.

One of the reasons that informants gave for classifying some *bairros* as "*quase cidade*" was the short distance that separated them from the *cidade*. Zézé for example would say, "I would like to live in Bairro Benfica, because it is closer to the *cidade.*" Many of these *bairros* – Peça, Benfica, Massangarala and Goa, for example – were effectively adjacent to the area classified as the *cidade*. As we saw before, although distance from the *cidade* was an important criteria for classification as "*quase cidade*", some *bairros*, such as Bairro dos Navegantes, located further from the *cidade* were still perceived as "*quase cidade*".

The most common explanation as to why a *bairro* would be classified as "*quase cidade*" was its material characteristics – straight streets laid down by the urban plan, aligned numbered houses, service infrastructure and so on. *Bairros* such as Calombotão, Esperança, Calohombo and others, by contrast, were perceived as being "pure *bairros*", totally lacking the material characteristics of "urbanised place". For example, João Fortunato often said that *bairros* such as Bairro Benfica could be seen as "*quase cidade*" because they had access to services (water, electricity and telephone):

> "in these *bairros* [such as Calombotão], women carry water in buckets and we have to deal with the noise of the generators. In Bairro Benfica this does not happen and [in addition] people have telephones, etc."

But the degree to which these *bairros* are considered "urbanised" also varied. For example, Bairro Benfica and Bairro da Peça are very old neighbourhoods of the city of Benguela. Before the end of World War II, the increase in immigration from Portugal, the rapid growth of the city of the 1950s and 1960s and its expansion towards the sea, most of the population of Benguela lived in the eastern part of the town where Bairro da Peça is situated. Bairro

Benfica and Bairro da Peça have benefited from urban plans and development and are at present "urbanised", in the sense which has been used here: the organisation of the space was a product of a state urban plan, even if the houses are mostly old and built of adobe. Bairro Massangarala and Bairro Goa-Casseque are old neighbourhoods as well, but they did not benefit from as much investment in urban infrastructure as Bairro da Peça, Bairro Benfica and also Bairro dos Navegantes. They have some straight streets, they are better supplied with water and electricity services than *bairros* such as Calombotão, but they are not as richly "urbanised" as Bairro Benfica and Bairro da Peça.

However, even if *bairros* described as *quase cidade* differ from each other, what was immediately stressed was the common presence of the characteristics of an "urbanised place", at least in parts of the *bairros*. Even if some *bairros* were spatially more "urbanised" than others, the characteristics of an "urbanised place" were signalled because they seem to have a strong symbolic and therefore differentiating power. The presence of these characteristics in these "*bairros quase cidade*" immediately creates a significant distinction with other *bairros,* where they are almost or completely absent, and allows for these *bairros* to be perceived as "*quase cidade*". Through being urbanised these *bairros* can be associated to the *cidade* and are therefore perceived as almost *cidade*.

However, as I realised, it was not solely material characteristics that qualified these neighbourhoods as "*quase cidade"*, since Bairros Goa, Casseque-Macau and Massagaranla, where the degree of the "urbanised" was much lower than in Bairro Benfica, were also said by many residents as being "*quase cidade*". While being "urbanised" and being located in a short distance to the *cidade* were important criteria for their classification as "*quase cidade*", what seemed to play a significant role was that they allowed for an association with the "ways of life of the *cidade*". This association had great symbolic power and bestowed value upon objects and people it included. For example, João Fortunato said, "[in addition to access to services] the value of the person is not the same if one says that one lives in Bairro Benfica or if one says that one lives in Bairro Calombotão". Bernardo who lives in Calohombo, a (pure) *bairro* next to Calobomtão, told me, "I would like to move to better *bairros*, such as Goa or Casseque (…) Or even better, to live in the *cidade*; but living in the *cidade* is for 'people who are people', not for us". As I argue below and in the following chapters, the *cidade* is seen as the place where proper people live and where development happens.

Why are "*quase cidade*" areas, such as Bairro Benfica and Bairro da Peça, not perceived as *cidade*, given that they possess the "urbanised" grid-like structure which is so important for

classification among the people with whom I worked in Calombotão? Some offered material explanations: the infrastructure is poor or degraded; the *bairros* are not hubs for businesses, services, and shops; or even, simply, "They are on the periphery." However, I argue that one of the main reasons for these places not to be perceived as *cidade* results from their historical associations with poverty, and with the *bairros indigenas* which grew as the *cidade* developed towards the sea.

What I describe above suggests that the notion of *cidade,* as well as associations and differentiation in relation to *cidade,* are based on material criteria, such as "being urbanised", but also on non-material aspects such as history and social and political relationships. In addition, the notion of *cidade* has symbolic power. Anything, anyone that can be associated with the *cidade* acquires value as a result, as I show below and in the remainder of the thesis.

The value of the *cidade* and its structuring power

The cidade *is where development happens*

The observations made by Filipe, Manuela, Antonieta and Quim and quoted at the beginning of this chapter suggest a relationship between *cidade*, as the urbanised place, and development: the *cidade* is considered the place where development happens. But, as discussed above, "development" has a double connotation, signifying access both to a materially easier life and to ways of life that are perceived as being superior. It is as if some aspects of social life acquire a positive social meaning because they are perceived as being "developed". In this sense, "developed ways of living" are almost ontologically better; ways of living and modes of social behaviour that are considered to be of a higher condition, that are considered almost "better *per se*"; they have acquired what Bourdieu (1979) calls a doxic dimension. This suggests that we can speak of material and ontological development.[122]

In alluding to this ontological dimension of development, many people use the words *avanço* (advancement) and *evolução* (evolution). People who are perceived as living a life of *avanço* are classified as *avançados* (advanced) and more often as *evoluídos*. *Avanço* may refer to ways of performing everyday life: the way one dresses, the way one presents oneself, the way one speaks, what and how one eats, the way one behaves socially. To be accused of being *atrasado* – the opposite of *evoluido* – thus carries enormous symbolic weight. People make associations between *bairros* and the qualities of the people residing there. Filipe, for

[122] This concept is inspired by Bourdieu (1979). See also Chapter 4.

example, said that although he likes Calombotão, people in the *bairro* were *atrasados:* "It is an *atrasado* environment, maybe because people come from the interior of the country; the rhythm is slow; people have a low cultural level. They do not have vision, they do not see the future, they don't give ideas, and they don't 'show light'." Chapter 4 describes how Manuela and her family were accused of being *atrasados* by members of their family who had been living in the *cidade* for a long time.

Filipe's use of the expression "low cultural level" may be related to low levels of formal education (schooling is associated with material development). A "low cultural level" may also refer to an absence of knowledge of things that matter – developed ways of living and of behaving. That is why people are considered to be *atrasados*. They may know things, but these are things that are not perceived as being developed; they know about things that do not matter in the *cidade* – "they do not see the future, they don't show light".

I distinguish between what I call "material development" and "ontological development" to highlight the doxic dimension of the latter. However, I emphasise that the distinction is heuristic: the two dimensions are not always neatly distinguished in practice and in people's descriptions of their lives and of a developed or *evoluído* person. Generally, people refer to being developed, advanced or *evoluído* or, by contrast, to being non-developed or *atrasado*. The term "non-advanced" is generally not used. People may use any of these terms to refer to both of the dimensions that I distinguish here. For example, while describing an *evoluído* person, Gomes said: "Someone who is *evoluído* is rich, he has lots of things; he knows more, he knows more things in relation to civilization." Mariana, who lives in a *bairro* close to Calombotão, also combined material well-being and "proper behaviour": "People who are developed can buy a car, a good TV … they can buy a table so that they do not eat on the floor" – that is, so that they eat as an *evoluído* person should. The fact that Gomes and Mariana conflated the two dimensions of development that I distinguish above shows also that when people have access to certain benefits of material development, they are expected to follow particular ways of living everyday life. And it is through this type of conflation between material development and ontological development that material aspects of life, such as certain types of houses or of furniture, can also acquire doxic dimensions – that is, they can also become better *per se* (see Chapter 5).

The choice of the either category – "developed" or "*evoluído*" – seems to be linked to age. "Developed" tends to be more often used by young people and "*evoluído"* or "*avançado"* by older people, probably because of the association of *evoluído* and *avançado* with the colonial order and with the old colonial conceptions of *civilização* that were politically contested after

independence in 1975, at which point the word *evolução* with the connotation described above was no longer used in political discourse. "Development" is, however, a term that continues to be used in economic and policy discourses. In Angola, the term "development" does not invoke the heavy colonial burden of the term *civilização* but rather evokes ideas of social and economic progress, economic growth, struggles against poverty and prospects for a better material life.

As shown above, the association is frequently made between "*cidade* – *evolução/development* – *evoluído/developed* people", and between the opposite set of associations "*bairro* – *atraso*/absence of development – backward/*atrasado* people". It is the association between *cidade* and "developed ways of living" that allows Severino to establish a relationship between "*bairros* that are almost *cidade"*, such as Bairro Benfica, and the *cidade*:

> Most of the people who live in Bairro Benfica go to the *cidade* often. For that reason they develop similar [developed] behaviours. In the way they dress, in the way they eat (they start also eating expensive things) in the things they do – for example they go to the internet.

It is not only through having a similar, urbanised structure or the beginnings of an urbanised structure that certain *bairros* are perceived as being "almost *cidade"*. Bairro Benfica and similar *bairros* are "almost *cidade*" not only because the space has been urbanised, but also because its residents can show (ontologically) "developed ways of living".

Cidade is the place where one can estar actualizado

For Severino and others, the *cidade* is also the place of access to advanced technology. Indeed, young people use the expression *estar actualizado* to refer to being aware of what matters in today's world – technology (cell phones, internet), and also fashion, concerts and so on. For Abel, a young man in his 20s who sells cell-phone air-time in Calombotão Market, and his friend Adão, the fact that "young people of the *bairro* are not *actualizados*" was the major difference between life in the *bairro* and life in the *cidade*. And the fact that young people of the bairro were not *actualizados* was strongly associated with development – with being *evoluídos*. Abel's parents had come from the interior of Benguela Province; Adão's from the north of the country. Our conversation was lively, and they pointed out examples of *estar actualizado* in a joking manner. It was as if they had developed an ironic stance on their situation.

> Here in the *bairro* people are not *actualizados* (…) they don't have the same culture. They don't have the same type of conversations. Young people in the *cidade*… they are of another level… they are more

> *evoluídos* [than people in the *bairros*]. For example, the subjects of their conversations may be cell phones, computers… Here?! Who are you going to talk about those things? – *asked Abel as if the possibility of anyone knowledgeable about computers in Calombotão was unimaginable* – Here, there is only one person, a young girl, who knows about computers. Someone had a problem with a computer the other day and turned around and turned around in the *bairro* and we finally found her. The only person! Whereas in the *cidade*…. you have lots and lots of places [where you can go].

For Abel and Adão, e*star actualizado* refers to the knowledge necessary to deal with technology, with objects of "the world of today" as João Fortunato would put it. For João Fortunato, in his forties, *estar actualizado* meant being aware of "things of the life as it should be lived today; the life of the present". However, the phrase actually means more than knowledge of the objects and things of today's world; it also means "being aware" of contemporary events in the world. As Severino said, "In the *cidade,* many people have satellite dishes and they can see what happens in the rest of the world."

The "world of today" may be the outside world or the "world" in the *cidade*. For example, some people told me how living in the *bairro* meant not being aware, so not being able even to consider participating in events in the *cidade*, such as concerts, parties and sporting events. Although the term *estar actualizado* is mainly used by young people, the importance given to "being aware", to having access to information, to being informed of what is happening in the world out there is shared by most people I met in Calombotão, regardless of age, even if they do not use the term *estar actualizado*.

The fact that the "world of today" may be the rest of the world and the world in Benguela suggests differences between what is valued in *estar actualizado* and some expectations on the part of people classified as cosmopolitans in *Expectations of Modernity* (Ferguson, 1999). The author argues that what is prized by cosmopolitans is the "world out there', the place where hit songs and action films come from, where 'things are happening" (p.215). He stresses that the "world out there" is not necessarily the West, but rather includes not only "American hamburgers and Italian neckties but also Soweto dance and Hong Kong kung fu movies". Although Ferguson culturally pluralizes the notion of the "world out there", he still seems to refer to a meaningful world for which Zambians long and that exists outside Zambia. While I recognise that for many in Angola *estar actualizado* may refer to a "world out there" (that is, outside Angola), the "things" of which one should be aware to be considered *actualizado* are also socially constructed inside Angola, in its urban areas in particular.

Objects and practices originally produced outside a specific social field acquire social meaning, and therefore a possible role in differentiation within that social field. This is accomplished in the way objects and practices are absorbed and produced anew by the dynamic of social relationships within that social field. The social meanings of objects and practices are locally constructed and grounded in local relationships. *Cidade* is not valued because it is associated with an outside world; it has become valued through local historical and social processes. "Today's world" may sometimes refer to some distant outside world, but it may also refer to the *cidade,* while objects and practices may have acquired new meanings through social relationships in Angola or within the city of Benguela. Indeed, for many people in Calombotão, the *cidade* is the reference for being *actualizado*. That is why for some people *estar actualizado* means being aware of important events taking place in Benguela. However, following the logic I explored above – that meaning at the basis of social differentiation is grounded on local social relationships – one could argue that some references for being *actualizado* are also produced within Calombotão itself, through the dynamic of its social divisions.

Conclusion: "*Cidade* has the fame of *cidade*"

As the previous sections show, *cidade* is associated with the urbanised, order, the rationality of the urban plan – *cidade* is the "urbanised place"; *cidade* is also associated with access to "material development" (access to piped water, electricity, schools) and to *evolução* and *avanço* – that is, to what I call "ontological development". *Bairro*, by contrast, is associated with sub-urbanised, disorder, the absence of material development, poverty, *atraso*. As a result, allusions to *cidade* mobilize all these clustered symbolic associations.

Following Bourdieu (1979), I have argued that *cidade* and *bairro* function as classificatory schemes associated with strong symbolic and structuring power. These associations have been built socially and historically and are very difficult to break, so strong is the symbolic power they convey. *Cidade* and *bairro* have become devices of classification which draw behind them other sets of associations that also have a classificatory function. Objects, practices and people associated with *cidade* become valued as a result. The symbolic power associated with *cidade* leads to perceptions that social life associated with *cidade* is superior, advanced, *evoluído*. It is as though there could be "ways of living" (what one does for a living, what one wears clothing, the food one eats, how one moves) that, because they are perceived as being the "ways of the *cidade*", are also perceived as being superior. The life of the *cidade* is held to be the proper life, the form of life that has value and is valued. And

where *cidade* has positive symbolic power, *bairro* lays over the objects and practices with which it is associated a veil of lesser value.

Cidade has such a positive symbolic power that Manuela told me once that even when her mother, Maria Kassoma returns to the *bairro* after having visited her in the *cidade*, her sisters-in-law say to her, "The *cidade* was good to you; you look prettier." This harks back to her comment that because houses were being built of cement bricks in Calombotão it looked both more developed and more beautiful. Development and *cidade* do not only allow for access to greater material well-being; they allow also for more beauty. Being associated with the *cidade* allows for becoming better, more beautiful "*per se*", as a result of the doxic dimension I refer to above.

Sometimes in Calombotão, people used the expression, "the fame of the *cidade*". Initially, I did not understand it. I asked Quim to explain. "The fame of the *cidade*? Well, I know some people here who would cry to shake the hand of someone from the *cidade*." And one day Antonieta told me, "The *cidade* has the fame of the *cidade*. Even if you work as a domestic worker in the *cidade*, you become different." From her tone of voice and her body language I understood that she meant "you become better". "The fame of the *cidade*" is the symbolic power of the *cidade*, and, from what Antonieta and Manuela say, this symbolic power can cut across other, existing social hierarchies such as class, since people become more beautiful or better just because they experience some form of association with *cidade.* The fame of the *cidade* is the embodiment of the symbolic power of *cidade*. Anything, anyone associated with *cidade* will (even if partially) embody "the fame of the *cidade*".

Chapter 4: Manuela, a Story of Displacement and Change

This chapter tells the story of Manuela and of her family, the Silvas, whom I introduced in Chapter 1. Until 1981, they lived in a rural settlement in the interior of Benguela Province. In the 1980s, the region was seriously affected by the post-independence conflicts and, like thousands of other Angolans, Manuela's family had to leave their home and seek refuge in urban areas. They arrived in Benguela in 1983 and lived in Calombotão from 1987 onwards.

The story of the Silva family provides a concrete example of war-displacement in a particular time and place. It reveals the family's displacement journey and their struggles to establish themselves materially in the city of Benguela – where they lived upon their arrival, how they found a house for themselves and what they did to access income for the family. However, their story also shows how experiences of displacement and establishment in urban areas are not marked only by material struggles and the immediacy of the events, in terms of the conflict, displacement camps, humanitarian aid, and so on; rural war-displaced people are also confronted with social and historical constructions of rural–urban relationships and of urban space itself.

In particular, Manuela's journey and struggles allow me to explore the dichotomous categories of *mato* (bush) and *cidade* (city), and of *bairro* and *cidade* commonly used in Angola. As I argue in Chapter 3, such categories have a strong symbolic and classificatory power and their usage allows for the hierarchical ordering of the objects and practices to which they are applied (Bourdieu, 1979 and 2001). As I show, Manuela's story richly illustrates this symbolic order, demonstrating how it may frame choices and possibilities for action through war-displacement and migration journeys from rural to urban areas.

Manuela's is also a story of change, of struggle and of a path towards *avanço*; towards material development and towards what I call "ontological development" (see Chapter 3). If her journey shows how history, symbolic orders, and structural factors such as gender and race weigh on possibilities for action, it also highlights the role of conjunctures (Bourdieu, 1980, Johnson-Hanks, 2002), illustrating how these can introduce new elements that will make certain kinds of change possible. In contexts of war and social crisis, looking in detail at what happens at particular conjunctures may help understand social change more profoundly.

From peasants to displaced people

Manuela, the oldest child of Joaquim Silva and Maria Kassoma, was born in January 1974, almost two years before Angola's Independence in November 1975 (see Manuela's family tree in Appendix C). Her family lived in the outskirts of Caviva, a rural settlement consisting of a small shop and a few houses stretching along the road, situated some twenty kilometres from Cubal (see Map 3), a small town in the interior of the Benguela Province.[123] Their home was located some thirty minutes from the main road. When she was a child, the family had to walk everywhere. People with some money rode bicycles and those who were better off had motorbikes. By the time Manuela's family left Cubal in 1983, her father owned a motorbike.

Joaquim Silva, who was born in 1952 and died in 2001, was a small-scale farmer, but, as Manuela put it, "he had already *some conditions*"; that is, he was better off than many peasants living nearby (see footnote 108, in Chapter 3). While the majority of the houses in the area were made of wattle and daub, their house was made of adobe. He had some land and cattle and could from time to time hire a few agricultural labourers whom he would pay with a share of the harvest. Their house was next to their main field, alongside the houses of other members of Joaquim Silva's family, including his parents, a brother and a sister. Manuela recalls with pleasure going to her grandfather's house very early on weekend mornings to have breakfast. Manuela's grand-father died in the late 1970s. Although she cannot recall his features, she remembers that he had a fair skin, and that some of his everyday routines differed from those of her parents. She remembers, for example, that her grandfather liked eating breakfast with his grandchildren over the weekend, tea and bread rather than the sweet potatoes and grilled corn that the family ate for breakfast in Manuela's house.

Joaquim Silva was the son of Joana and Manuel Silva. Manuel Silva had settled in Cubal sometime in the 1940s. Joana, Manuela's grandmother, is still alive and currently lives in the Benguela *bairro* of Calombotão. Joana's family came from the outskirts of Caimbambo, a small town in the interior of Benguela Province. She met Manuel in the region of Coporolo where her father had moved to work on a *fazenda* (commercial farm). According to Joana, Manuel was living with his sister whose husband was a shop owner. Manuela's grandfather was later employed as a *capataz* (foreman)[124] building infrastructure in the region. Joana stated that her husband was of Portuguese origin; his father had been a white man who lived

[123] Many inhabitants of Calombotão come from the Cubal region (20.2% of the respondents in my survey). Cubal is one of the towns situated along the *Caminhos de Ferro de Benguela* (CFB). See Chapter 2 for discussion about the railway.

[124] The *capataz* was a man who supervised local workers on farms and road works and in factories. His is a figure of the colonial order, seldom used now, and often connoting roughness and cruelty.

in the region of Hanha. Manuel's mother (Manuela's great-grandmother) was a woman of the region of Hanha (a *Mahanha*). As we saw in Chapter 2, the presence of white men or of *mestiços* (racially mixed people) in the interior of Benguela Province had been relatively common since the slave trade – these men were traders or intermediaries of traders of the city of Benguela. Racially mixed unions between these men and African women were also relatively common.

Manuela's father was a man of many trades. He had completed primary education and was primarily a farmer in Caviva but had also been trained as a tailor. He would spend long hours on the porch, making clothes for neighbours and friends from his church, for which he was paid in cash or with food and produce. In 2005, when the war was already over and Manuela and I visited their former home, almost no trace of the house could be found but muddy pieces of fabric, threads of wool and tarnished buttons, unearthed when the land was cleared, could still be seen here and there: reminders of Joaquim's former presence.

After Independence, in 1977, during a period of postcolonial education expansion, Joaquim became a school master. Thousands of children were sent to school for the first time and there were few primary school teachers. In the rural areas, many men and women who had completed primary school were trained to become "basic primary teachers". Joaquim was one of those. He was also very religious and worked as a catechist linked to the Catholic Mission of Hanha.

Manuela's mother, Maria Kassoma, was born in 1953 on *Fazenda Santana*, one of the big *fazendas* surrounding Cubal where her mother had been working.[125] Maria's father worked on *Chimboa da Hanha*, another *fazenda*, next to Ganda, a town fifty kilometres up the railway line from Cubal. Her mother joined her father in Ganda when he found a job as a domestic worker in the house of a Portuguese couple. However, Maria's father began another relationship with a young woman who was also a domestic worker in the house and they had a daughter, Josefa. According to Maria, the Portuguese couple in whose house her father had worked helped to bring Josefa up and in fact Josefa was later to play a vital role in Manuela's life. Maria's father died some time after Josefa's birth, and Maria's mother went back to Cubal. She would later bear five other children.

[125] Important areas along the CFB up to the central highlands in Huambo, especially in the regions of Cubal and Ganda, had been transformed into *fazendas*, especially after World War II. These drew thousands of migrants from the central region. During research in the *bairros* of Benguela, I met numerous people who worked or were born on the *fazendas*, so large a part did they play in the history of the region. See Chapter 2 for historical details concerning the region.

Maria Kassoma lived for a few years with her maternal grandmother while her own mother was working as a domestic worker in Cubal, remaining with her mother's family until she was thirteen, when they took her to the Catholic Mission of Hanha, south of Cubal. She planned to be a nun, but then she met Joaquim and they started a clandestine relationship. When the nuns stumbled upon the letters that Joaquim had written to her, they called him and asked whether he had "serious intentions" in relation to Maria. He did, and they married at the mission in 1972. After the wedding, she and her husband went to Caviva, where they lived until they were forced to leave because of the war. Although she had lived in a Catholic mission when she was a child, religious missions being one of the few places where rural children could receive formal education, Maria was almost illiterate and could hardly read and write. While in Caviva, she bore and raised their children and helped in the fields.

Several features of Manuela's family history are common to the history of the region. As Chapter 2 shows, several traders of European origin had penetrated the region since the European slave trade and some of them settled there and established stable marital unions with local women, as seems to have been the case with Manuela's ancestors. Through Manuela's family, it is also possible to read the important changes that the interior of the province of Benguela underwent during the XX century, with the arrival of the railway at the beginning of the century and the emergence of small towns, such as Cubal and Ganda, and the economic development which the railway enabled. These changes were even more visible after World War II, as large *fazendas* developed in the region and drew substantial numbers of migrants. Manuela's grandfather seem to have established himself in the region just after World War II, when the *fazendas* were developing, and several members of Manuela's family – her maternal grandmother and grandfather –worked on some of these *fazendas*. Finally, Manuela's family was also influenced by the activity of the religious missions, in their case by Catholics, in the region.[126] As this chapter shows, Manuela's family would continue to reflect the history of the region.

When, at the end of the 1970s, after a few years of peace, the war erupted again, the rural areas in the interior of Huambo and Benguela Provinces were the first to be attacked by UNITA. These were areas where this political party could count on some popular support and where guerrilla activities could be more easily organised. Andrade, Carvalho and Cohen (2001) indicate that the first areas to be attacked in Benguela Province were those around

[126] The Catholic Mission of Ganda was founded in 1927; the Catholic Mission of Hanha was created in 1954. However, even before the foundation of the Mission of Hanha, a network of Catholic catechists linked to the Mission of Ganda was working very actively in the region of Hanha (interview with Catholic Bishop of Benguela).

the small towns of Ganda and Caimbambo. According to the same authors, most *comunas*[127] of the inland area of Benguela Province, with the exception of those along the main road leading to the coast, were occupied by UNITA during the 1980s. As a result, the whole central region of Angola became insecure and only the largest towns were safe from attacks. In 1978, the Silvas began hearing stories of nightly attacks on family homes in Caviva. Rumour had it that these attacks were directed at families who were slightly better off; that is, small farmers who were able to produce surplus to exchange for cattle and consumer goods. Manuela's father cultivated mostly maize, sorghum and rice which were used primarily for the family's consumption. Surplus was exchanged for other products, particularly cattle. When the family left Caviva, he had approximately fifteen cattle. According to Manuela, attackers wanted money and sometimes they would steal cattle as well. One night, Manuela's family was attacked. Manuela recalls a group of armed men in uniform knocking on the door during the night. "We didn't know if they belonged to UNITA or if they were envious people from neighbouring villages. (…) We used to call them *dibongo* (those who ask for money), because they used to say *nena lonbongo* (give me money)." The attackers wanted money but there was none in the house. They became violent, hitting Maria Kassoma who was trying to protect her sick husband. As they did not find any money in the house, they stole a radio and other small items and then they left.

After this attack, the family started spending the nights in the surrounding bush and returning home during the day to work in the fields. They lived in this way for a few months. In 1981, the violence in the area increased. Attacks on farmers were more frequent and the Silva family feared a repeat. As some of their fields were located at a distance from their house, it became dangerous to attend to them every day. The family – Joaquim, Maria and their four children – decided to leave Caviva, at least for a while, hoping that the violence would decrease soon and that they would be able to return. Manuela, the eldest, was seven years old at the time. Joaquim Silva left his land, cattle and belongings with Maria's brother who remained in Caviva.

Like many other war-displaced families in Angola (see Chapter 1), Manuela's family did not journey immediately to the city of Benguela. They went first to Cubal, the municipal capital some twenty kilometres away, hoping to be able to return to Caviva before too long. There, they rented a house in Bairro Calomanga. Unfortunately, Joaquim Silva did not find a job in Cubal. For a while, he was still able to travel to Caviva by motorbike to attend to some of his fields and to the cattle that had remained with his brother-in-law. When he needed money, he

[127] Within the territory of a province, the Angolan local state administration is structured in municipalities and at a lower level in *comunas*.

sold his cattle or remaining agricultural products.[128] However, as the war grew more intense, travelling to the rural outskirts of the town became increasingly dangerous. In addition, their cattle were stolen. Joaquim Silva could not work his land and eventually had no possessions left in Caviva. In 1983, he decided to move his family to Benguela, the capital of the province, where there seemed to be more economic opportunities.

Arriving in Benguela – becoming "of the *bairro*"

Aunt Antonia's house

On arriving in Benguela, like most families in the areas I surveyed (see Chapter 1), the family did not go to one of the "displacement camps" established by the government or by humanitarian agencies but were received by family members. An earlier study I conducted (Robson and Roque 2001: 52) notes that one of the reasons that people did not go to displacement camps was because they did not migrate in groups for the most part and therefore did not attract the attention of aid organisations. In addition, we found that a displaced person who lives in a camp does not benefit from family networks in urban areas or from useful information families have already acquired, such as what type of economic activities are available, how to enter the informal market and what process to follow to find a plot to build a house. Displaced people in camps found it more difficult to adapt to city life and took longer to settle in.

Manuela and her family went to stay with Maria's sister, Antonia, who had been living in Benguela for several years and who had a house in Bairro Fronteira. Although she was Maria's biological sister, Antonia had not been raised by Maria's mother but by her godmother, Aurora. A *mestiça,* Aurora was Maria's mother's cousin. When Maria Kassoma told me this story, she said, "Aurora had asked Maria's mother", her cousin, "to take Antonia with her". It was (and remains) a common custom for better-off members of the family to take children of poorer members of the same family, often from rural areas, to live with them. Parents of these children are usually willing to follow this practice as they hope that by living with wealthier family members, their children will have access to education, to new skills or in some way to greater chances of a better future. Looking at Angolan children in foster-care in Portugal and inspired by Fonseca (1986 and 2003), Øien (2006) calls this practice an "informal circulation of children" and also notes how this "has been commonplace and continues to happen on a large scale in Angolan society also today" (p. 1108). Often, these

[128] Similar behaviour is reported by Birkland and Gomes (2001) in their study of war-displaced people who settled in the city of Huambo. Displaced people would leave their camps or settlements during the night to walk up to their villages more than ten kilometres away, to collect crops that they had cultivated and left in the fields.

children, usually referred to as *afilhados,*[129] play an ambiguous role in the household. They are provided for in material terms: they are fed, dressed, sometimes sent to school or given the opportunity to learn some trade or professional skills (such as sewing, carpentry, cooking). But they have also to fulfil numerous obligations, especially household chores: they look after the children, clean the house and cook. The *madrinha* or *padrinho* can be an aunt, an uncle, or another resourceful person who possesses the economic or socio-cultural capital to secure the future of the child (Øien, 2006).

Aunt Antonia's stay with her *madrinha* allowed her to live in urban areas. She went to school and, when Manuela's family arrived in Benguela, she was already married to a mechanic and was working in a shop in town. In addition, when Aurora, her *madrinha*, moved to Portugal,[130] she left Antonia her house in Bairro Fronteira, where Manuela and her family stayed when they arrived from Cubal in 1983.

As Manuela says, it was good for them to have a place to stay on their arrival, but staying at Aunt Antonia's house was not always pleasant. There were numerous conflicts, especially between her aunt and her mother. If family was, for many displaced people, "the quickest and the easiest route to establishing oneself in the city" (Robson and Roque, 2001: 51 and also Andrade, Carvalho and Cohen, 2001), it is also true that conflicts arose in many cases, frequently related to pressure on already stretched household resources (ibid.). In Manuela's family's case, one cause of conflict was overcrowding: thirteen people, six of whom were Manuela's immediate family, were living under one roof. But conflict arose also from differences in ways of living and daily rhythms between Manuela's family and her aunt's. According to Manuela, her aunt had been living in Benguela for a long time and had already acquired the "ways of the city" – she was already someone of the *cidade*; whereas Manuela's family were seen as coming from the *mato* (bush).

As explained in Chapter 3, space in Angolan cities is often classified through the dualist labels of *bairro* and *cidade* (or *musseque* and *baixa* in the case of Luanda). A similar dualism is applied when people speak about rural and urban spaces or describe life in those spaces: the *cidade* and the *mato*. The *cidade* is perceived as urbanised, developed, *evoluído*

[129] *Afilhado(a)* and *madrinha* / *padrinho* are words that refer to the universe of *compadrio* (see Chapter 1) . *Madrinha* or *padrinho* is the woman or the man who serves as a witness in the ceremony of Catholic baptism. *Afilhado(a)* is the child being baptized. Under *compadrio* "real parents" and "spiritual parents" (*padrinhos* and *madrinhas*) treat each other as *compadre* and *comadre*. *Padrinhos* and *madrinhas* are morally obliged to support their *afilhados* and to look after them in the case their parents for some reason cannot do it (de Oliveira, 1996).

[130] Neither Manuela nor Maria knew why or when Aurora left for Portugal. However, it is quite possible that Aurora left for Portugal just before or after Independence as did many Portuguese or people of Portuguese origin living in Angola.

(advanced, forward) and connected to the world, whereas *mato* is the place of negation of all these properties – the place of non-development, of ignorance, of disconnectedness, of *atraso* (backwardness). As discussed in Chapter 3, dual categories are often used by my informants to characterise different aspects of Angolan social and cultural life: *cidade* and *bairro*, *evoluído* and *atrasado*, *civilizado* and *não-civilizado* and also *cidade* and *mato*.

In *Expectations of Modernity* (1999), James Ferguson refers to the "pervasive and familiar dualism" that structured the way most of his informants described their lives and discussed issues related to migration to urban spaces (p.83). In his interviews, people would use similarly dualist typologies: "town ways" and "village ways", "modern" and "traditional", "African" and European" (ibid.). Part of Ferguson's book critiques these typologies (functioning with "typical' figures"), arguing that reality is not dichotomous but rather complex and shaped by a "full house of variations" (ibid: p.80). He criticises the evolutionism underpinning the use of these typologies, which often suggests the existence of typical points of an inevitable linear progression towards an alleged superior stage – a villager will progress towards becoming a townsman; traditional ways of living will be replaced by modern ways of living, and so on.

Even if empirical reality shows a world much more complex than the typologies that common use purports to describe, Ferguson found that his informants had nevertheless adopted the vocabulary of modernization and of "modernist metanarratives of social sciences", producing a "local version" of these metanarratives:

> Urban workers' conceptions of town and country, and of the cultural differences between urbanites, were (it became increasingly clear) not simply compatible with the modernist metanarratives of social science; they were a local version of them. Modernization theory had become a local tongue, and sociological terminology and folk classifications had become disconcertingly intermingled in informants' intimate personal narratives. (Ferguson, 1999: 84)

Similarly to the dichotomies *cidade* and *bairro,* and *atrasado* and *evoluído*, the dichotomy of *mato* and *cidade* expresses an implicit evolutionism. Life in the *cidade* is perceived as requiring a higher degree of sophistication, a superior *savoir faire* that rough newcomers from the *mato* are not assumed to possess. Aunt Antonia accused Manuela's family of not knowing how to behave in the city, of being *atrasados* (backward). She would complain that they were not able to follow the daily rhythms of life in a town house. Instead of eating at the table, using forks and knives, they ate with their hands, seated on the floor. Instead of waking up, preparing breakfast and starting to clean the house, they sat outside around a fire. She complained that because of them she could not receive visitors during the morning: "The

house would be a mess as they were incapable of putting their things in order and of having the house tidied up in time." "Life was very different from what we had known in Caviva," says Manuela. "In Caviva, we had a table, but we never ate at the table;" (…) "in Caviva we would wake up and go to the fields; we did not have to prepare breakfast immediately, make our beds, clean the house before going to the fields." Aunt Antonia was irritated by their ignorance of the rhythms of city life and the details of social behaviour. She saw them as signs of the *mato* which her sister and her family *still* showed, as visible signs of their *atraso*, of their lack of ontological development as defined in Chapter 3, which, by association, reflected on her.

Pereira (1999) describes similar conflicts among families who returned to Luanda in the 1970s and 1980s after having migrated to the Congo in the 1960s. Those who had grown up in Angolan urban areas had different behaviour from those who had grown up in the Congo and had experienced urban life in Kinshasa and Matadi. Differences in social behaviour (treatment of elders but also more mundane social forms of behaviour such as how one closes the door when a neighbour is outside) and differences in practices of daily life (such as whether one eats at a table and uses cutlery) assume great importance in others' evaluations and classifications and may indicate degrees of bad or good education and, sometimes, of "civilisation" or its absence.

As Ferguson points out, the dualism and evolutionary thought in the analysis of rural–urban social change is pervasive, dominant and very difficult to avoid. As I discussed in Chapter 3, dualism and the evolutionary use of dual categories are also well entrenched and generally shared across the society. Manuela and her family, as well as other people from different backgrounds whom I interviewed in Benguela, hold that urban space can appropriately be described through the use of the categories of *bairro* and *cidade*, or *mato* and *cidade*; that the diversity of social and cultural practices in those spaces can be classified under the labels of *atrasado* and *evoluído*; *developed* and *non-developed*.

However, as I argue in Chapter 3, the common use of such typologies (*cidade* / *bairro*; *atrasado* / *evoluído*) is not the simple result of the transformation of the language of modernization theory into a "local tongue" as Ferguson would suggest; or the simple adoption of the terms in the different dualist typologies. It is important to explore social and historical processes if we wish to understand why such categories are so powerful, so entrenched and socially so effective. As I suggest in Chapter 3, the designations contained in these typologies function as categories through which the world is apprehended and described – they function as "classificatory schemes" (Bourdieu, 1979 and Chapter 3).

If classificatory categories such as *bairro* and *cidade*, *mato* and *cidade*, *atrasado* and *evoluído* are so evocative and the way they are used so entrenched and persistent, it is because they have a long history behind them; a history of use, of incorporation, of embodiment, of institutionalisation and of "naturalisation". In short, a history that explains their subtle "imposition". They have come to function as symbols; they operate as those "instruments of knowledge and communication" [that can] "make possible a consensus over the sense of the world" (Bourdieu, 2001: p.205, my translation). In the case of the categories in which I am interested (*bairro* / *cidade*; *cidade* / *mato*; *atrasado* / *evoluído*), the evolutionist view implicit in their dichotomous distinction implies the legitimising of a hierarchical differentiation – *cidade* being at a higher stage than a *bairro*; *cidade* being at a higher stage than *mato*, and so on. These typologies, historically and socially constructed, have therefore the symbolic power of hierarchically ordering the outside world to which they are applied (Bourdieu, 2001).[131]

Getting established in Benguela

For some time, income in the Silva family derived mainly from the trips that Joaquim Silva made to Cubal where he bought agricultural products to sell in Benguela. Once he had accumulated sufficient money, he rented a house in Caponte, another *bairro* in Benguela. He bought a sewing machine and made clothes that Maria sold in the (informal) Caponte Market. Manuela attended school in the mornings and helped her father in the afternoons. They were very poor, but had started to establish themselves in Benguela. Joaquim Silva learned other skills and diversified his income-generating activities: through reading and self-education he became a nurse and would treat and advise other residents of the *bairros* on medication they had to take. At some point, he worked in a local textile factory but it did not last as he was frequently ill and eventually had to leave the job.

The means that Joaquim Silva employed to obtain resources to sustain his family that were similar to those of the majority of displaced people I interviewed in Benguela. As Table 13 below shows, most displaced people arriving in the surveyed areas were not able to find a permanent job; only 16.9% of respondents held permanent jobs. The Angolan economy was collapsing at that time and few of the jobs for which newcomers could aim – as manual workers in factories, domestic workers or farm workers – were available. The majority of the survey respondents created activities in the informal market, becoming sellers or opening

[131] See also Bourdieu, 1979: 271–87 and Bourdieu, 1980: 233–44 for further explanations of symbolic power and in particular of how forms of classification become legitimised and naturalised.

their own small businesses, such as sewing clothes or becoming a "neighbourhood nurse" like Joaquim Silva.

Table 13: Income-generating activities of war-displaced people after arrival in Benguela

	n	%
Informal seller	66	36.7
Permanent job	28	16.9
Too young at time of arrival	25	15.1
Own small business	22	13.3
Member of the army	13	7.8
Domestic worker	5	3.0
Casual jobs	5	3.0
Had no economic activity	5	3.0
Help from institutions	2	1.2
Other	1	0.6
Total	166	100.0

Later, the family moved to Capiras, a nearby *bairro,* where Joaquim Silva was able to buy a small house with the money he made from sewing. It was the mid-1980s and fighting in the interior of Benguela Province had become even more intense. Joaquim Silva travelled to Caviva to bring his mother and siblings who were still living there to join his immediate family in Benguela. They all lived in the small house in Capiras. In 1987, Joaquim Silva bought the house in Calombotão and he and his immediate family moved to that *bairro*, leaving his mother and siblings in the house in Capiras. At that time Calombotão was far away from the *cidade* and property was cheap. Indeed, there were only a few houses in the *bairro*. People there were also very poor and Manuela recalls that there was hunger in the neighbourhood. As war-displaced people continued to arrive from the interior of the country, many settled in the *bairro*, which slowly became more densely populated.

The family was very active in church life in the neighbourhood. As they had in Caviva and in Cubal, they attended church regularly. In addition, Joaquim Silva was a member of various church groups and occupied positions of responsibility in some. In this respect too, Manuela's family resembled many of the residents of the areas I surveyed. Of the respondents of the survey, 91.4% said that they belonged to a church, for the great majority (59.1%) this was the Catholic Church. Other relatively important churches in those neighbourhoods were the Adventist Church (14.4%), the Evangelical Church of the

Southwest of Angola (IESA[132], with 8%) and the Congregational Evangelical Church of Angola (IECA, with 8%).[133] All had had religious missions in the interior of Angola and, like Joaquim Silva's family, many of the residents of the surveyed area had regularly attended their services; some had also been to primary school in religious missions.

As a child, Manuela used to go to church with her family. However, as a teenager in Calombotão, she began attending church even more often. She trained to become a catechist and taught catechism in different *bairros* of Benguela. She also became a member and later a leader of church groups and spent a lot of time helping the sisters of a Catholic congregation who worked in the neighbourhood.

Manuela said her frequent activities in the local Catholic Church were a way of "escaping from her life in Calombotão", where she was unhappy. As Joaquim Silva's health deteriorated, so did the family's material conditions. Calombotão was further from the *cidade* than their earlier homes. Manuela had to walk further to attend secondary school in the *cidade*, as there were no secondary schools in the *bairro;* she felt that the physical distance from the *cidade* also placed her symbolically further from the *cidade*. Another difficulty in Calombotão related to race. Manuela had a very fair skin. Whites and racially mixed people were not expected to be so poor as to live in places like Calombotão. They were expected to live in the *cidade* or in *bairros quase cidade,* which bore a closer resemblance to the *cidade* (see Chapter 3). Other children of Calombotão used to call Manuela "*camulata"* (local designation for a racially mixed person), and make jokes about her skin colour. She would cry. She felt different from other people in the *bairro* and wished she did not live there.

Church and church-related activities seem to have provided Manuela with a symbolic space where racial differences and differences of social status, which were so distressing to her, did not apparently matter – or could at least be "camouflaged", as shown below. A teenager, she had begun to be confronted by social, racial and class differences and, in particular, by differences that underscored the distinction between being from the *cidade* and being from the *bairro*, especially one as associated with poverty, disorder and *atraso* as Calombotão.

[132] IESA, *Igreja Evangélica do Sudoeste de Angola*, stemmed from the "Alliance Missionnaire Evangélique Suisse" which operated in Caluquembe, in the south of Angola (Péclard. 1998b). IECA is the *Igreja Evangélica Congregacional de Angola* stemming in 1979 from the *Conselho das Igrejas Evangélicas de Angola Central* CIEAC the "Council" of evangelical churches in Central Angola (Henderson, 1990)

[133] Other churches with smaller importance locally are the Baptist Church and several other new Pentecostal churches.

Church-related activities also brought the possibility of social relations with people who did not live in Calombotão. Manuela met and made friends with people residing in other parts of the town; in particular people from other *bairros* that she felt came closer to her (idealised) expectations of a *cidade.* She had never made any friends in Calombotão. But new friends from the *cidade* or from *bairros quase cidade* sometimes confronted her with symbolic differences that were so painful for her. She told me that a church mate from one of the *bairros quase cidade* who was working in Calombotão saw her one evening through the gate of her house: she was seated on the floor, eating dinner, her face lit by the glow of a candle. The day after, he expressed his surprise. He had not known that she lived in Calombotão, in such a poor house, that she ate on the floor, not at a table. She felt ashamed. She remembered that when she was a teenager, she refused to disclose where she lived to some of her school mates, but would arrive at school covered in dust from walking from Calombotão to school. So conscious was she of all the small details that could reveal where she lived, potential sources of humiliation, that she began to carry a cloth to clean herself and her shoes very carefully before entering the school.

Manuela's sensitivities can be perceived as provoking feelings of impropriety (de Certeau, 1990; Meintjes, 2000; Ross, n.d and 2005; Yose, 1999). In her parents' house, she did not eat in the "proper way"; she did not live in the "proper neighbourhood", one from which she would not have to walk on dusty roads. Ways of eating, of dressing, of furnishing one's house, of presenting oneself to the outside world, in sum, of structuring and performing everyday life can take a wide diversity of forms in different social and cultural contexts. However, if social practice can take multiple forms, it is socially perceived, appreciated and evaluated through these classificatory schemes, which have been incorporated by agents through personal and collective history (Bourdieu, 1979 and 1980). Bourdieu sees social practice as the result of a dialectical relationship between "objectified products" – that is, structures – and "embodied products through historical practice" – that is, habitus (1980: 88). Habitus is thus the individual internalised structure (where classificatory schemes lie) that generates and organises practice. In a detailed explanation of habitus, of its functions and of how it operates, Bourdieu (1980) says that

> conditioning associated with a particular class of social conditions produces *habitus*, which is systems of durable and transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as generating and organising principles of practice and of representations (…) [ibid: 88, my translation].

For Bourdieu, at the origin of our conduct in the world (of one's practice, of the way one "structures" the outside world, of how one perceives and represents the outside world for

oneself) lies our internal "structured structures" – that is, structures that have been shaped by the social conditions that have marked our existence. But these structured structures also possess "structuring power", ordering the world through their classificatory power. We therefore go through life incorporating the social conditions and relations of the outside world to which we have been exposed in our habitus, as at the same time we shape (perceive, evaluate, organise, structure) the outside world through our "structured self". Being produced by an individual's habitus, the use of classificatory forms, such as "proper" and "improper" has been incorporated and embodied through a long exposition to specific social conditions (economic, political, institutional, and so on). The cognitive capacity to use such classificatory forms has therefore been embodied by the individual. Manuela knew immediately (that is, without having to or needing to explain or justify it) what kind of behaviour would be perceived or "felt" as proper or improper, that is on what properties to ground such evaluations. In other words, she knew the symbolic meaning of gestures and behaviour, and how these could socially classify her.

She knew that if she was seen eating with her hands, she would be perceived as *atrasada*, as someone coming from the *mato* – someone lacking ontological development; that if she was seen arriving at school covered in dust, she would be classified as someone "from the *bairro*". And she also knew that in certain social environments these classifications would create cascading devaluating perceptions about her. Manuela knew that being seen eating with her hands or covered in dust, in addition to a possible description of visible (objective) properties of such actions, triggers the perception of symbolic properties that say more about those actions than their visible properties.

As explained above, according to Bourdieu (1979 and 1980) symbolic meanings attached to objects and practices and the hierarchical order they contribute to generating (proper objects and practices are perceived as being socially superior to improper objects and practices) are produced within and by social relations which are marked by social divisions – that is, within a social field marked by a differentiated distribution of capital (economic, cultural, social). Objects and social practices may have strong, socially acquired symbolic meanings and, as a result, the symbolic power to contribute to hierarchically ordering the outside world. Because of their symbolic power, they become signs of social differentiation and distinction and, as a result, they turn into "objects of desire", objects one should be able to display, objects for which to fight.

Through some of her activities and in the church groups and the secondary school in the *cidade*, attended also by children from the *cidade* and from *bairros* that were perceived to be

closer to the *cidade*, Manuela was painfully confronted with the signs of social differentiation, in particular signs related to practices of everyday life, that had great symbolic power and were indicative of a (hierarchical) position in social space. Manuela's account of her life indicates that she had understood that there were ways of living and performing daily life that were perceived to be better than hers, that had socially more value and, above all, could also attribute more value to her. And she could recognise some of those ways. However, at that time she was apparently "submitted" to that difference – these distinguishing ways weighed down on her; those desirable "ways of living" seemed far away from her, things of a world to which she did not belong, which she could not reach. As I describe below, she would change that, reaching out to that world. Her encounter with Josefa was instrumental in helping her make a "different future" possible.

From a life of *bairro* to a life of *cidade*

Discovering a good life in Josefa's house

In 1991, Manuela met Josefa. As you recall, Josefa was Manuela's mother's sister. Josefa grew up in Ganda, and she and Maria had never met until 1991. Josefa's life had been very different from Maria's. While Maria had practically no formal education, Josefa had once been a primary school teacher in Benguela. While Maria lived in a poor house in a *bairro* in Benguela, Josefa lived in a small villa in Viana, fifteen kilometres away from Luanda. She had her own business: a snack bar and a bakery.

In 1991, Manuela's family learned that Josefa was visiting Benguela for a few days and was staying at Hotel Mombaka, the city's most expensive hotel. Josefa had learned that her only sister, Maria, was at that time living in Benguela and made arrangements to meet. With her parents and her eldest brother Quim, Manuela went to visit Josefa at Hotel Mombaka where they learned of her life in Viana, her home and her business. A few months later, Joaquim Silva decided to visit her and to take Manuela with him. They travelled the five hundred kilometres between Benguela and Luanda by bus. At the beginning of 1992, the Bicesse Peace Agreement had just been signed. The country was at peace, so it was possible for them to make the journey easily. A year earlier or later that trip would have been much more difficult and dangerous; travel by road during the war was only possible in military convoys.

Manuela and her father stayed at Josefa's for about a month. When her father was making preparations to return to Benguela, Manuela decided to stay with her aunt. She proposed the idea to her father and her aunt and they agreed. Manuela considered Josefa's life to be very good. She lived in a nice house, not far from Luanda. She had a good business. Manuela

saw the opportunity to live her aunt's "good life": she could eat good food, watch TV, go for walks in Luanda and learn the "good things" she had never learned before. "I fell in love with that life," Manuela explained. Here was an opportunity to learn "good things", things that function as signs of differentiation and that have the symbolic power to *fazer a vida avançar* (to enable one's life to progress). She planned to stay only a few weeks but, owing in part to the outbreak of war, she ended up staying with her aunt until 1993.

Manuela's presence was a great help to Josefa. Then aged 17, Manuela was already a young woman. Josefa had only one daughter who was studying in Portugal and the kind of assistance she required with the numerous tasks at home, in the bakery and in the snack bar was not customarily performed by men. Previously, Josefa had hired a young girl to help her, but she had left. Manuela became her aunt's right hand and, over time, took on increasing responsibility. She looked after the house and oversaw the running of the bakery and snack bar.

Manuela was initially very happy with Josefa. She learned about things she had never known and that she associated with belonging to and acceptance by a "better world", by a more "developed" world. Above all she learned how to cook and the gestures of daily domestic life considered proper for women with houses. As Manuela described to me in detail, before going to Luanda she couldn't cook, at least not the food her aunt ate. "I couldn't do anything. I couldn't cook soup, I couldn't cook rice. We never ate rice in the *bairro*. Only *pirão* and *lombi*…[134] and dried fish from time to time, but that was all. We didn't have breakfast, only *pirão* and *lombi*. I couldn't even cook eggs. We knew that we could have fried eggs, but we did not know that eggs could be cooked as omelette, scrambled eggs, etc. I couldn't even make a bed." Her aunt noticed that. "My niece, you really don't know anything. You are good at school, but for the rest, you know nothing."[135]

Manuela's statement about her inability to cook is striking. Of course she could cook; she said it herself. But she could not cook food that she and her aunt perceived as "proper cooking" or, according to Bourdieu's view of symbolic systems, food that had been socially constructed as "legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1979 and 2001). It is as though the way in which Manuela cooked before spending time with her aunt was not the cooking that mattered, that

[134] *Pirão* is a paste made of maize flour that is eaten mainly in the central-southern regions of Angola. In the North of Angola a similar kind of paste is based on manioc flour and is called *funge*. The word *funge* has been lately also used also to designate *pirão*. *Lombi* is a sauce made of green leaves that is usually eaten with *pirão*.
[135] Chapter 6, in which I examine issues of subjectivity and agency, will examine in particular how different objects and practices contribute to the construction of personhood. Here, for example, Josefa is implicitly saying that education provided by school, however high the level reached, is not enough to make a person of standing in a city.

could be counted socially. And as Manuela described her sojourn with her aunt and the effect it had on her, I realised that cooking for Manuela, like the way she ate in the backyard of her house and the dust on her face on arrival at school, was a sign that could trigger symbolic relationships with the dichotomies *atrasado* and *evoluído* and *bairro* and *cidade.* Cooking in the appropriate manner constituted one of those "distinguishing signs" that are classified and that simultaneously classify, which could send her, in her eyes and the eyes of others, to "higher" levels of social hierarchy – more strongly towards that status of *evoluído*, closer to the lifestyles of people from the *cidade*.

In *La distinction*, Bourdieu (1979) states that struggles for the appropriation of distinctive signs that define the legitimate life style can be experienced as an "ontological promotion, (…) as a process of civilisation" (Bourdieu, 1979: 280, my translation). Manuela expresses feelings that resemble that idea. She told me once, "It was with my aunt that I learned what civilisation is." The sojourn with her aunt allowed Manuela to experience of process of what, inspired by Bourdieu, I have called in Chapter 3 "ontological development". However, if for Manuela the sojourn at her aunt's house was a period of contact with new and valued things, of learning and change, she also worked hard – too hard, in her opinion. She recalls that she did not have time for anything else. She slept little; she went to school, but was always sleepy and ended up missing her exams; she did not have time to go to church. The relationship with her aunt became increasingly difficult and oppressive and one day she ran away. She first stayed with a woman who also worked in Josefa's bakery and who lived nearby. But this woman did not want to put her relationship with Josefa at risk and took Manuela to stay with a friend who lived far away from Viana. Josefa was furious. Their relationship deteriorated and Manuela could not (and did not want to) go back to her aunt's house. Josefa alerted Manuela's father who came to Luanda to speak to her.[136] He feared that Manuela might have done something terrible to her aunt, or that she might be pregnant. When Manuela knew that her father had travelled from Benguela to look for her, she felt guilty and decided to come to her aunt's house to see him. She was allowed to return to her aunt's house to see her father and decided to go back to Benguela with him.

In 1993, when Manuela returned to Benguela, Angola's brief peace had ended as fighting erupted again after UNITA rejected the results of the 1992 elections. The *bairros* were now caught up in the violence of the civil war. According to Manuela, because her father had

[136] Josefa made an announcement on the radio, saying that Manuela had disappeared from her house. These types of announcements are quite common in Angola, and were used especially during the war, as it was not always possible to make phone calls between different towns. Radio announcements seem to be quite effective: if the person to whom they are addressed does not hear them, neighbours, friends or acquaintances who hear the messages transmit them.

sewed clothes for people from UNITA, they were accused by other residents of supporting that party. Her family had to move temporarily to Santo António, a fishing settlement fifteen kilometres away from Benguela, even further away from the *cidade* than Calombotão. Her father sold tea in Caponte, the big informal market in Benguela, and would walk the whole way from Santo Antonio to Caponte. When Manuela returned to Benguela, her family was already able to return to their house in Calombotão, but they were destitute. Her father's illness continued and he could no longer work. They did not have any money. "Sometimes, we would stay the whole day with no food to eat," Manuela recalls. She could not stand that life any longer; she had not been hungry for long time, she had lived another type of life, away from the *bairro*; she now desired another type of life… She wanted to move to the *cidade*. She lived in the *bairro* for two months only. At twenty-one years of age, she decided to leave.

Manuela's vital conjuncture

What is a vital conjuncture?

Manuela seems to have experienced these few months with her family after her return from Luanda as what Jennifer Johnson-Hanks (2002) calls a "vital conjuncture". According to Johnson-Hanks (2002: 872), "vital conjunctures are experiential knots during which potential futures are under debate and up for grabs". The author uses the concept to analyse the social timing of events such as marriage and motherhood and to argue against the use of the concept of life stages to describe life courses. Her main argument is that individuals' trajectories (life courses) do not usually follow coherent patterns and that events described as being part of specific life stages are frequently non-synchronous. Johnson-Hanks proposes the use of the concept of vital conjuncture which she bases on "a dual focus on [social] institutions and aspirations" (ibid: 878) rather than focusing on specific events that would epitomize a life stage. As the author says, "major life events – including migration, illness and career change – can be construed as vital conjunctures" (ibid: 871). These are specific periods of future orientation, of potential change, during which possible futures are imagined and weighed out; periods during which "more than usual is in play"; periods for which outcomes are uncertain, but which also contain the potential for transformation. According to Johnson-Hanks (2002), the way individuals navigate through these periods of potential transformation and the outcome of these periods depend both on their aspirations and on the social institutions that frame these aspirations. As a result, the concept of "vital conjunctures suggests a new way of aggregating life history experiences and thus of working between the individual and the social …" (ibid: 866), as "the dual focus on institutions and

aspirations allows us to examine how and why certain life events cohere in given social systems and what happens if they do not" (ibid: 878).

Jonhson-Hanks (2002) bases her concept of vital conjuncture on Bourdieu's concept of conjuncture.[137] She wishes "to emphasize the intersection of structured expectations with uncertain futures", and "to emphasize the dual character of vital conjunctures: at once manifestations of recurring systematicness and contexts of unique possibility and future orientation" (ibid: 872).[138] She also integrates into this concept Bourdieu's general view of the role of social structures on practices. Although Jonhson-Hanks (2002) does not set out to establish a link between vital conjunctures and habitus, the dual character of vital conjunctures seems to be fed on the one hand by habitus, which generates "structured expectations" (and structured aspirations) and "manifestations of recurring systematicness" in the individual experiencing a vital conjuncture; and on the other by the conjuncture, "contexts of unique possibility", that is, "the short-term conditions (…) that serve as the matrix for social action" (ibid: 871).[139]

Jennifer Jonhson-Hanks quotes Bourdieu's (1977) explanation of practices as relating the social conditions under which habitus was produced "to the conditions in which this *habitus* is operating, that is to the *conjuncture*, which short of radical transformation, represents a particular state of this structure" (Bourdieu, 1977: 263). Bourdieu (1980: 94) says that, in order to fully understand practices, one needs to relate "two states of the social world": the social conditions under which habitus was engendered and the current social conditions under which habitus is operating (the conjuncture). Following Bourdieu, where practices as structured by habitus – itself a "structured structure", that is an internal structure that is the result of the internalisation of particular social conditions to which individuals have been submitted through time[140] – it is therefore habitus, the "internal device", which produces structured aspirations and expectations in the individual experiencing a vital conjuncture.

[137] The term "vital" in "vital conjuncture" is based on "the demographic term *vital event*", which refers to "an individual's entrance into or departure from life, together with change in civil status" (International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 1982, cited in Johnson-Hanks, 2002).
[138] Johnson-Hanks refers also to Sahlins (1985) but she finds the concept of conjuncture proposed by Bourdieu more appropriate for her study. While Bourdieu looks at how conjunctures affect social agents' practice, in *Islands of History* Sahlins' focus is on how changes in conjuncture may shape cultural categories.
[139] Johnson-Hanks' (2002) stress on the double structuring role of social structures (via the conjuncture and via habitus) is also hinted at in the concluding remarks of her article where she says, "Although the conjunctures and their horizons are variable, actors' orientation to them are often systematic; imagined futures may be idiosyncratic, but the forms of imagination belong to the social field." (ibid: 878)
[140] As Bourdieu (1980) says, habitus represents "the acting presence of the past of which it is the product" (p.94, my translation).

Johnson-Hanks (2002) emphasises the role both of the conjuncture and of institutions which in her fieldwork study seem to provide the frame for the production of aspirations and imagined futures. However, our imaginations and aspirations are conditioned by more than institutions. Other social conditions (which can be of a structural order, such as gender and race, or of a "softer" type, linked to the nature of social relationships) were at work in our past and also contribute to the engendering of habitus, the internal structure that guides our practice.

Carrying an implicit potential for change, vital conjunctures can lead to significant transformation or not, depending on the way individuals experience them. I argue that when she returned to Benguela in 1993, Manuela experienced a vital conjuncture, a period during which there was potential for change and during which she considered change. She had already experienced much change in the moves from Benguela to Luanda and back. She had no job. She had returned to a place where she had not lived for some time; a place that was also undergoing transformation. The overall context in Angola at that time was great social, political and military turbulence; deep uncertainty. New waves of war-displaced people were heading to the coastal cities of Angola, including Benguela, as the interior of the province and the highlands were embroiled in conflict.[141] The misery and hunger in the *bairros* were profound. The war was a fresh blow to an economy that had just been starting to recover. There were neither jobs nor land to cultivate in the urban areas. Caught in the turbulence of the political and military conflict, Manuela's family was experiencing great material destitution. During the period that she spent with her family, Manuela evaluated her circumstances, considered her chances and wondered what to do and what her future might be.

I argue that she was able to find her own way through that vital conjuncture and realize the possibility of change that it contained. Like any other person, Manuela has probably gone through several vital conjunctures in her life; that is, through periods during which transformation was possible, during which change was considered. Some may have led to important change in her life, while others did not. There are two reasons for my choice to focus on the vital conjuncture related to the moment when she returned from Luanda: firstly, I wish to focus on the moment that led her to moving from the *bairro* to the *cidade;* secondly, because I argue that her sojourn with Josefa played a significant role in the way she was able to transform her life through that vital conjuncture and I wish to explore that role.

[141] For the first time since 1975, the war had reached an important number of towns in Angola. The interior of the province and highland towns such as Cubal, Ganda and Huambo were subject to violent and prolonged military conflict.

Manuela says that during her sojourn with her aunt, she learned "everything" that made her what she is today. This is not true, as Manuela learned many other things (such as hairdressing and how to use a computer) after she left her aunt's house, but the weight Manuela assigns to what she learned with Josefa shows how forms of cultural capital related to behaviour in social life are perceived. With that expression, Manuela shows how central she thinks her sojourn with her aunt was for what her life is today. If, before living with Josefa, she knew that there were other, "better", "ontologically more developed" ways of living, she was still "subjected" to them. They intimidated her; they were felt as things that were not for her. Once she left Josefa, this had changed. It was then possible for Manuela to aspire to a life different from that of her parents and from the one her brothers would build for themselves. She was no longer intimidated, or at least not as intimidated.

In order to shed light on the way Manuela navigated through this vital conjuncture that allowed her to introduce important changes in her life, I will draw upon the differences between Manuela's life and that of her brothers, in particular the life of her brother Quim, who was born two years after Manuela. When I first met Manuela, I was struck by the visible differences between her current life and that of her adult brothers.[142] While she had apparently made her way through a relatively successful life in the *cidade*, living there, working there, and having many friends there as well, this was not the case with her three adult brothers. They all lived in Calombotão, in small rooms in the backyard of their mother's house and they seemed to live under much greater economic pressure. When I met them, Francisco was unemployed, Quim sold medicine in the small local market and Pedro had a minor job that Manuela had found for him in the *cidade*. I focus on Quim's life because of his proximity in age to Manuela. Quim could potentially have been marked by the same events as Manuela, and therefore by similar opportunities. Like any one else, Quim experienced several vital conjunctures in his life, such as when he left school, and before he decided to marry. However, unlike Manuela, he was never able to transform his life in a way that gave him a sense of achievement or that imparted value to his life and conveyed the impression of value to others.

If we follow Bourdieu and say that practice is the result of a dialectical relationship between social conditions (of the past and of the present) and habitus, we may be able to see why Manuela and Quim's current lives are so different. In comparing particular aspects of their

[142] I refer here to Manuela's three adult brothers, the other four being much younger than she is.

lives, I therefore examine the social conditions that shaped their lives, which may have provided for differences in habitus and also in the conjunctures offered to each.

Quim's "(dis)organised" life

When I met him, Quim was twenty-nine years old. He lived with his wife and their four children in an *anexo* of his mother's house. Quim and his wife's room was the only one complete and painted. Quim's *anexo* had been willed to him by his father because he was the eldest son.

Quim's wife had also come from the interior of Benguela Province. Her family had fled the war and she had arrived in town with her parents when she was a child. She had very little education. Like Maria Kassoma, she made *capuka* to sell to neighbours, in addition to reselling bottles of beer that she bought in Caponte. Quim left school when he was a teenager and had no secondary education. He told me that he had left school because he did not want to take obligatory evening classes, but his mother told me he had never liked school; "He just wanted to play with his friends of the *bairro* and often missed school." Manuela also told me that while she had always known that school was important, her brothers did not – they used to run away from school.

Today, Quim regrets having left school so early and would like to complete his education. But he has four children and has to work. He feels unhappy with his life. As he says, "my life is not in good order"; it is not the kind of life that would convey symbolically to him and others an impression of value, a life that would differentiate him from the mass of poor people from the *bairro* who struggle every day to buy food and who live in permanent uncertainty. Quim did not have "an organised life": a house, money to educate his children and to provide plenty of food every day, and a good business or "even better, a permanent job". (I return to the notion of an organised life in Chapter 5.) Quim was dissatisfied with his accommodation but felt he had to remain there to care for his mother. He knows that when his children grow up he will need to have a house for himself and his family.[143] When I met him, he did not have a vehicle. He and his brother Zico, who lived with Manuela, had bought a motorbike, intending to use it as a taxi in town and thereby generate extra income.[144] However, the business seems not to have worked very well. Quim does not have a permanent job and is constantly looking for a business that would stabilise his financial situation. When I met him, he was selling medicine in the local market in Calombotão. However, the government was clamping

[143] At the end of 2007, when I visited Manuela's family again in Calombotão, Quim had moved out with his family. He had built a house in another neighbourhood.
[144] In Benguela, the use of motorbikes as taxis is currently very common. People driving such motorbikes, usually young men, are called *kupapata*.

down on informal medicine vendors at the time, and Quim had to abandon his stand in the local market. Quim described his desire for a permanent job with the government when he and I were speaking about his friends in Calombotão. First, he told me that he did not have many friends in the *bairro*; only people to whom he would say "Hi, how are you?" He explained that his school friends had continued their studies and become school masters and nurses, and that he now had little in common with them. "I cannot talk to them now. What can I now talk to them about? We don't have much we can talk about. Maybe with a nurse; I can talk with him about medicine. But to the school master? What can I say? (...) I feel that they are more *evoluídos* than I."

The differences in how Manuela and Quim feel about their lives are striking. Quim, as he says, is in a difficult situation. He is unhappy and feels that his life is not "organised", unlike that of his former friends. His use of "disorganised" to describe his current life is similar to the way in which Manuela spoke about her past life, about the shame she felt at being covered in dust from having to walk from her house in the *bairro* to the school in town. Similarly, Quim seemed to perceive his life as improper; he had been unable to "organise" his life in what he perceived as the proper / legitimate, and therefore socially valued, manner. For Manuela, this is no longer the case. She explained that she is living a life she loves. It is not without difficulties, but she considers it very different and much better than the life she led in Calombotão.

Another distinction between the two siblings emerges from all of this: their desires and aspirations seem quite different. Both seem to be marked by the dichotomy of *evoluído* and *atrasado*. However, although both refer to the duality *bairro* and *cidade* in describing their lives, Manuela seems to associate *evoluído* with the *cidade* and *atraso* with the *bairro*, and long aspired to a life closer to that she regarded as being of the *cidade*; while Quim does not seem to have the *cidade* as an object of desire. In our conversations, he often expressed despair at the state of his "disorganised" and difficult life, but he never expressed an attraction to the life of the *cidade*. He aspires to an "organised life" in the *bairro* – a life with less material struggle, a life where he can show the visible signs of more material ease to his neighbours and friends.

Manuela and Quim

What can explain the different paths that Manuela's and Quim's life underwent and their diverse aspirations, two people who have approximately the same age, who were brought up by the same parents and who lived in the same house until they were both teenagers?

I have argued that when she returned to Benguela in 1993, Manuela experienced a vital conjuncture. I draw on Johnson-Hanks's concept of vital conjuncture but argue that the "aspirations and imagined futures" marking Manuela's vital conjuncture were framed by more than institutions; they were framed by habitus and, as a result, by the overall social conditions that had shaped her past.[145]

Until 1991 when Manuela left for Luanda, her life and Quim's seem to have been affected broadly by the same events. They come from the same family background. They were both born in Caviva and both left their rural home as young children with their parents to flee from the war. Both accompanied their parents through a war-displacement journey: from Caviva to Cubal; from Cubal to various places in Benguela. However, their lives are currently very different. Three structural factors seem to have played a significant role in the lives of Manuela and Quim and provided for a different "dialectical relationship" between social conditions and habitus: age, gender and racial attributions. In addition, I argue that Manuela's sojourn with her Josefa, where she acquired social capital, also contributed significantly to the way Manuela tackled her return to Benguela.

The two-year age difference between Manuela and Quim meant that they were differently affected by events and social conditions in the various places in which they lived. For example, Manuela was nine years old when they arrived in Benguela whereas Quim was seven. They were probably differently exposed to the conflicts in Aunt Antonia's house and to the diminishing regard she had for them. As I explain below, gender may have also played a role in the way Manuela was affected by these conflicts as she stayed home to help with chores more often than her brother who, in addition to being younger, was a boy and did not have those obligations. The age difference may also have also played an important role in the relationship they established with Calombotão. In 1987, when they moved to this *bairro*, Manuela was thirteen years old and Quim eleven. Previously they had lived closer to the *cidade*. Calombotão seemed very far away from the *cidade* and was quite isolated, as public transport from the *bairro* to the *cidade* was scarce. Manuela did not like living so far from the *cidade* and seems never to have come to terms with living in Calombotão. She made no friends in the *bairro*. On the other hand, Quim was younger. He does not seem to have been unhappy in Calombutao despite the material hardships experienced by the family. He attended a primary school close to the *bairro,* made friends in Calombotão and was therefore more settled socially in the *bairro* than Manuela. In the long run, this worked to his detriment.

[145] In using the concept of habitus to explain Manuela's "structured aspirations", which have framed her vital conjuncture, I am aware that Bourdieu's theory of practice, and the concept of habitus in particular, is sometimes perceived as rigid and as over-deterministic (see for example, de Certeau 1990 and Ortner, 2005). I return to this discussion in Chapter 6.

Another factor which seems to have marked their different relationships to Calombotão is the different ways in which other people classified them racially and the distinct expectations that this classification would produce as a result. Although they came from the same family and had the same genitors, Manuela was lighter skinned than her brother and was teased by children in Calombotão, while her church and school friends made assumptions about her material and social standing on the basis of her skin colour.

Their different relationship to Calombotão and their differing network of friends may also offer partial explanations for their contrasting relationship to school. While Quim only finished primary school, Manuela went on to secondary school and high school and therefore to a very different social environment. Through her church mates and in secondary school, Manuela encountered many people who, as she saw it, had more than she had, had lives that had more value than hers. She made the link between education and a better life, between education and upward social mobility. This does not seem to have been so in Quim's case. He was encapsulated in the *bairro* and many of his friends lived in the *bairro*. It is only today, in comparing what he has become with the lives of friends who did not drop out of school, that he recognises the role that school could have played in his life.

Differences of gender and gendered divisions of labour also played an important role. Age and gender differences marked in distinct ways the two siblings' relationship with the household and the responsibilities they had within it. Gendered expectations enabled Manuela to stay with Josefa which, as I argue, was important for the way she navigated through her vital conjuncture. The impact of war on subsistence farming radically altered expectations of and opportunities for boys. And being a woman gave Manuela other possibilities in life, in particular the possibility to "marry up".

When she returned from Luanda to Benguela, she went to school for longer than Quim and, unlike him, knew that school was important for the future. She had also acquired more social and cultural capital through her association with and learning from Josefa, and, perhaps more importantly, she aspired to a different life.

Getting to the cidade

When Manuela decided to move to the *cidade*, she remembered that her cousin Sousa was living in Bairro Benfica and realised that she might be able to stay at his house. Manuela asked her father to speak to him. He did so and she was then able to move to Sousa's house

in *Bairro Benfica*, taking her brother Zico with her. Zico was five years old and fair skinned like Manuela. She decided to take him with her for company, but also because she did not want him to suffer the racial taunts of other children, as she had. As described in Chapter 3, Bairro Benfica is what Benguelans categorise as "almost" the *cidade*. It is an old *bairro*, located closer to the *cidade* than Calombotão, and seen as encompassing some of the physical characteristics and symbolic properties of the *cidade*.

Manuela drew in many ways upon what she had acquired from her sojourn with Josefa. Through the sister of Josefa's husband, who was a cook in a Benguela *pensão* (guest house), she found a kitchen job; later, she became a cook. She worked during the day, and attended high school in the evenings. Meanwhile, her brother Zico went to primary school. Manuela's salary did not allow her to contribute to household expenses; instead, she helped with household chores while her cousin's wife sold bread in the informal market. But life at that time in Benguela was hard. As a policeman, her cousin earned a small salary; his family was experiencing material difficulties. Manuela and Sousa's wife argued frequently and after a few months Manuela and Zico left.

Through a civil servant from Benguela who used to travel to Luanda and dine in her Aunt Josefa's snack bar, Manuela located an *anexo* in the backyard of a house in the *cidade* where she could live with her brother. The house was spacious and its occupants "were good people", as Manuela says, so she did not have to pay rent. [146] The room she and her brother shared was very small but she was in the *cidade and* becoming a woman of the *cidade*: working there, living there, making friends and expanding her social network there.

Manuela and Zico lived in the *anexo* for three years. Then she met Costa, who was to become the father of her two oldest children. He was the co-owner of a fish factory, almost sixty years old and fair-skinned. They began a relationship. As Manuela says, it was Costa "who took me from the small room in the backyard"; that is, who enabled her to leave the backyard and move to a house that could be considered hers. Costa did not live permanently in Benguela but shared his time between Benguela and Luanda, where, as Manuela later found out, he had another family. In 1996, she fell pregnant with Jade, her eldest daughter. Costa rented a small house for her in Bairro Tchioge, another old *bairro* of Benguela. Although initially she was ashamed of saying that her family lived in Calombotão, she did

[146] It is possible that the people living in the house did not pay any rent either. After 1975, as many people (Portuguese and of Portuguese origin) left Benguela, their houses were occupied by people who came from the poorer *bairros* (see Chapter 3). The occupied houses were nationalised by the state and their tenants were supposed to pay rent to the state. However, with the devaluation of the *kwanza* (Angolan currency), these rents became insignificant and the state seldom collected the money.

take him to meet her parents. Her father did not like him, feeling that he was too old to be a suitable partner for Manuela.

After Costa met her parents, he and Manuela began living together in the house he shared with his business partner. He continued travelling to Luanda, ostensibly to see his children, saying that he was separated from his wife. But he never spent Christmases with Manuela and Jade and she realised that he was still married. Nevertheless, she continued living with him. She was prevented from attending school during the day because, according to school regulations, young mothers were to attend night school but Manuela was not able to do so. She never finished high school. Instead, Costa helped her to do professional courses. She took computer and secretarial courses and found a job in a small company which she left after a year when she fell pregnant. She tried but failed to find a job as a hairdresser, long an ambition, and so she opened her own hair salon in an *anexo* to the building where they lived. Costa helped her to purchase equipment and she employed an experienced woman who taught her the trade. She also learned to do manicures and pedicures. After two years of working in the hair salon, she was pregnant again with Marco. But Costa did not want this child. Already over sixty and with a failing business, he spent longer and longer periods of time in Luanda. He was in Luanda when he received the news of her pregnancy and was very angry. When he returned, Marco was already born. He registered his children – Jade and Marco – and left for Luanda again. He never returned and did not properly support his children although he used to call them occasionally. He died in 2006.

After Costa left, Manuela and her two children, her brother Zico and her sister Tina (whom she had asked to live with her a few months after Jade was born, to help with the children) had to leave the house. She rented a small room in the backyard of a shop whose owner she had met in a hair salon. At the beginning, Costa helped with paying the rent; but after a few months he stopped contributing and Manuela had to manage with the money she made in the hair salon. She lived there until Marco was two years old, when she met Luis, a man in his forties.

Luis lived in a one-bedroom apartment in the *cidade*. He had been divorced for a few years and his wife had left Benguela with their children some time before. Luis had always been a shy and lonely man. After finishing high school in the 1970s, he spent many years in the army during the 1980s, and had never really developed a career. He worked in a hardware shop in Benguela and lived off his salary. Manuela says that “it was God who put Luis on my way”. Manuela, her children and her two siblings moved in with him and they have lived together ever since. Their child, Manuela’s third, was born in 2003.

When Manuela met Luís and they started living together, she may have reached what she aspired to: a "proper" life in the *cidade* – in addition, to a job in the cidade, she was now living in a house of her own in the *cidade,* shared with a man of the *cidade* who needed her and cared for her. Manuela continued to work; they would have never been able to support the whole family on Luis' salary alone. For a few years, she kept her hair salon in one of the rooms in the apartment. More recently, she made a small investment and transformed the apartment where Luis used to live into a proper hair salon. She has bought a few pieces of equipment and is planning more improvements to her hair salon.

Manuela now lives in the *cidade*. She has not become wealthy; on the contrary, she works very hard to support her family, the people for whom she is responsible, and is always economically strained. Her mother, Maria Kassoma, recently returned to Caviva and is working on their land, where Manuela used to push the plough behind the ox. Manuela's two youngest siblings are now also living with her. Thus, four of her seven siblings share the house with herself, Luis and the three children. The remaining three siblings are already adults and live in Calombotão. She has not abandoned her obligations to her family: she looks after her younger brothers, helps her mother and is saving money to organise proper funeral ceremonies for her father who was buried in Cubal during the war. But she does not live in the *bairro* and only goes there now and then, mostly to visit her family As she says, her life is now completely different from that of her adult brothers and their families.

Manuela's trajectory: habitus, strategy and tactics

When I look at Manuela's life trajectory, I am impressed by how deeply she transformed herself and the material conditions of her life. What I would like to emphasise first is how she was able to move from a position where she felt subjected to the distinctive signs of a dominant culture, to which she believed she had no chance of aspiring, to a position where she had appropriated some of these signs, ways of doing and modes of behaving in everyday life, and felt able to adopt them. She had long been aware of some of these signs. But she had been "submitted" to them, she felt ashamed and sometimes would try to "trick" (de Certeau, 1990) those whom she perceived as belonging to the world where those signs legitimately belong; such as when she would dust off her shoes so that her schoolmates did not discover that she came from the *bairro*. After she lived with her Aunt Josefa, what had seemed impossible and out of reach became possible, "seize-able". Thereafter, she was able to depart for the *cidade,* to make a life for herself which she perceived as being having more value than the life she had lived until that time.

In his famous distinction between strategy and tactic, de Certeau (1990) associates strategy with the ownership of "a place which can be circumscribed as a proper", "as the basis from which relationships with an exteriority of targets and threats can be managed" (ibid: 59, my translation), and tactic with the absence of both these attributes. With no proper place for itself, the tactic is condemned to play in the terrain of the other, with the rules of the other. It can be creative, inventive, and capable of producing unexpected results; it often does, but always with a "received language" (ibid. p. 57) from a "strategic proper place".

If we make the analogy between the forms of a dominating, "legitimate" culture, which have become symbols and signs of distinction, with the "proper place" from which strategic actions are "launched", Manuela's efforts to appropriate those distinctive signs, to achieve the point where she feels she can legitimately perform them, can be perceived as being of a tactical nature. Before living with Josefa, she felt excluded, outside this place where things that matter happen; outside the "proper place". After she came back to Benguela and moved to the *cidade* or proper place, her efforts to establish herself there – to find places to stay, to find jobs, her relationship with Costa, and later her union with Luís – seem to be strivings of a tactical order to be included in "the proper".

In his work, de Certeau (1990) often emphasises the rich creativity of tactical practices, the tricks and subtle manoeuvres which he considers "an art of living in the other's terrain" (ibid. p.43, my translation). In his view of the forms which practice can take, their difference from "the proper" and their plurality and inventiveness, de Certeau's (1990) analysis bears many resemblances to Bourdieu's (1977, 1980) view of strategies, of the forms these can take and the results they may produce. According to Bourdieu, individuals' strategies use creative and innovative *coups* that navigate through explicit rules (a certain type of "proper") and implicit principles, using one or the other depending on what appears to be more effective in achieving the desired result. One of the important points on which the two authors differ, however, is the way each perceives the "intention" behind these strategies. De Certeau (1990) perceives this plural production, this fabrication, this *bricolage*, made on top of imposed "ways of doing", as an "act of resistance" of those who are dominated by the "proper place" – by the dominating culture. He mentions, for example, how rural religious believers deceive the "fatality of the established order", how they "re-use a system [the religion] which, far from being theirs, was built and disseminated by others" (the religious missions) and how they "mark this re-usage by 'super-stitions" which "civil and religious authorities have always suspected of (…) contesting power and knowledge hierarchies" (ibid. p.35, my translation).

By contrast, Bourdieu (1977) places habitus, "the generator principal of strategies" (p.257), at the centre of his analysis. By doing so, he reduces the weight of intention and calculation (and therefore of intentional resistance) in what he calls strategies. For Bourdieu, the origin of individuals' action and practice lies in habitus, with its dispositions, which have been incorporated through time and which allow agents in their practice to be reasonable (to know what they ought to do), without having to be rational (to have a calculated purpose) (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This view does not exclude either the possibility of a conscious calculation or the making explicit of a rational choice, but as Bourdieu (1977) says, if the "responses from habitus may encompass a strategic calculation which tends to realise, in a conscious mode, the operation that habitus realises on another level", these responses define themselves outside of any deliberation (pp. 257 and 258, my translation).

Manuela's life, choices and path are clearly not acts of resistance to the "proper" of a dominant culture. She desires it; she wants to embrace it, to be part of it. She is combative, she is creative in her search for ways to reach what she wishes and, if she is indeed resisting, it is not the "proper", but this feeling of exclusion from the legitimate culture. What in de Certeau's analysis could be seen as the "proper belonging to the other" has become for Manuela, I think, "a proper way of being her". It is a "proper" that may (still) belong to others but it will also belong to her future, and she works actively towards it.

This chapter described Manuela's efforts to build a "proper life". As I realised during my fieldwork in Calombotão, a proper life could be also referred to as an "organised life". The next chapter will explore the concept of an organised life and will further develop the relationships between proper lives and proper persons.

Chapter 5: A House and a Job: Imaginings of an Organised Life

During one of our conversations, Quim, Manuela's brother, expressed his dissatisfaction with his life, saying he wished for "an organised life". This expression was frequently used by other residents of Calombotão in conversations about their lives, expectations and desires.

Two elements seem to be crucial in the creation of an "organised life". First, a house built of brick and cement that is spacious, furnished and filled with appliances. This is referred to as "an organised house", or "a house in order". Second, a permanent, waged job in the formal sector (the state administration or the private sector). These are not the only elements that contribute to "an organised life" – education, for example, is important too – but a house and a job seem to constitute the most significant and visible symbols of "an organised life".

When I first encountered the phrase "organised life", I took it to refer to a life without material difficulty, a life that can be lived "without too many thoughts", a life beyond uncertainty. An organised life therefore encompassed the security and comfort of material objects and a permanent waged job allowing for the purchase of that material security. As I continued to explore the meaning of an organised life, however, it became clear that "an organised life" indicates that one has "moved forward", "advanced", become developed. In other words, the material components signify ontological development. As a result, this chapter looks at homes and their material culture as possessing agency, that is, as producing meanings that go beyond their material functionality, meanings grounded in social and historical relationships (Miller, 1998 and 2001). Homes, furniture and appliances are not only functionally useful but have symbolic value; they communicate a sense of "propriety" about their owners (Meintjes, 2000 and 2001; Yose, 1999, Ross, n.d. and 2005). Meintjes (2000) relates the struggle by residents of Soweto, South Africa for "properly furnished homes", for instance, to a desire to communicate the absence of poverty and a sense of dignity about these homes and their owners.

In this chapter, I argue that in working towards "an organised life", many residents of Calombotão are also trying to demonstrate that they are not impoverished. I argue further that an organised life guarantees and demonstrates that one's life has developed, that one's life is that of *avanço*. Living an organised life entails social practices that show to the outside world that one is developed, that one has advanced. In its associations with development and advancement, working for an organised life becomes the equivalent to what De Certeau describes as struggling for a "proper life" (de Certeau, 1990) – a life lived in the appropriate manner, given the social and historical grounding of ideas about development and

advancement. And since the making of houses can also signify the making of people (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995), through struggling for an organised life people are also struggling to construct and represent themselves as developed.

Building an organised house

In construção definitiva: Building materials and the structure of the house

A "house in order"[147] is a fundamental element of an organised life. Firstly, it needs to be of *construção definitiva*, that is, a "permanent construction". The expression implies specific construction materials – cement bricks or cement and bricks, rather than adobe bricks which are usually made by the owners of the house from soil excavated in the neighbourhood or in the owner's *quintal* or in the road.

As may be recalled, as early as the XIX century, adobe bricks and houses made of adobe were negatively perceived by state officials and by some residents of Benguela. At the beginning of the XX century, with the consolidation of the colonial presence and the development of urban areas, building with adobe was forbidden within the limits of what was considered to be the *cidade*. Although adobe houses continued to exist in the middle of the town - causing Ralph Delgado,[148] who wrote several books about the town, to refer to them as "the eternal evil" (Delgado, 1944: 37) - the colonial administration associated adobe and thatched houses with "*indigenas* population settlements" and legislated that they could only be built in *indigenas* neighbourhoods, not in the *cidade*. Legislation regulating building and housing patterns in urban areas sought to impose proper ways of living on both the population of those areas and the traders of European origin who, in the interior of Angola, lived in *cubatas* made of sticks and grass (see Chapter 2).

A house of cement bricks conveys a specific relationship to time, duration and permanence. Several laws promulgated at the beginning of the XX century refer to the "permanent" or "non-permanent character" of structures, depending on the building materials used.[149] The debate on "commercial concentration" after the 1920s revolved around the need for commercial settlements to be constituted by "constructions of permanent character" and for traders to live in houses made of "permanent" building materials. The state did not consider

[147] Interestingly, in her article on "Aesthetics of Social Aspiration" Clarke (2001:36) refers to the same expression – a house in order.
[148] Ralph Delgado lived in Benguela for several years and was at a certain point a member of the Municipal Council. He wrote several historical works on the town.
[149] See for example *Portaria Provincial* nº 183 in *Boletim Oficial da Província de Angola*, nº 43, 1ª Série, 28th of October 1922 and Chapter 2.

houses built in "non-permanent" building materials to be true houses. Indeed, Torres (1989: 103) suggests that the population censuses of 1940 and of 1960 did not count many houses within the *musseques* and *bairros* as these were not houses built of "permanent construction materials".

Even today, houses that are not built in cement bricks are described by residents of *bairros* and by state officials alike to be *provisórias* (provisional), even if those houses last for many years. The term *provisória* is often used by residents of *bairros* to refer to houses that may later be built in cement bricks, that is, to houses that are still to become "permanent", of *construção definitiva*. But for state officials, however, many *bairro* residences are also perceived as *provisórios* because they are built outside any state-led urban planning process. They are not in "urbanised" places; they still don't "count" and are permitted to remain only until "proper houses", built in cement bricks on the basis of a state-led urban plan, rightfully replace them. State officials often refer to houses built in *bairros* as being of *construção anárquica* (anarchic construction), that is, as illegal and therefore at risk of being destroyed and replaced by proper houses within an "urbanised" place. The "permanent" or "non-permanent" character of construction materials is linked to the legal status of the house and its right to existence.[150]

Houses built of adobe carry the lingering burden of the historical association between adobe bricks and uncivilised houses, lack of permanence, sub-urban space and illegal housing. By contrast, a house built in cement bricks has an historical association with a "civilised house"; an association with urbanised place, order, permanence. A house of cement bricks is a house to be "counted"; a real house, a proper house.

As Table 14 shows, fewer than one quarter of the houses in the areas which I surveyed were made of cement bricks; the majority were made of adobe. Some, such as Manuela's mother's house, are made of adobe and then covered with a layer of cement. The layer of cement renders the houses more resistant to the rain and makes it look "more proper". But these houses are still made of adobe and experienced eyes will "see through" the layers of cement covering the adobe. In addition, after only a few years the cement starts falling off and the adobe bricks appear again, exposing the material and also the symbolic fragility of the house.

[150] See Simone (2004: 192-208) for a discussion on urban land and access to urban shelter in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 14: House Building Materials

	n	%
Adobe Bricks	154	77.8
Cement / Red Bricks	44	22.2
Total	**198**	**100.0**

One of the reasons the majority of residents of the surveyed areas build their houses in adobe and not in cement bricks is that the latter are expensive. The owner has to purchase building materials (cement bricks, cement, and sand) instead of merely excavating earth from the backyard to make adobe bricks, and in many cases must hire a construction worker. So, houses in *construção definitiva* require a relatively high level of income. This is confirmed in the results of my survey: in most of the houses built of cement bricks in the surveyed areas, the household head has a permanent job (56.8%); in 22.7% of the cases the household head sells goods in the informal market.[151] Domestic workers, people living on small and uncertain jobs or even those owning very small informal businesses do not generally have houses built of cement bricks.

In addition to the construction materials, the size of the house also matters. A house of *construção definitiva* should also be (or look) spacious, and have several rooms. Nonetheless, building materials appear to constitute the most important feature of a proper house. Maria Kasoma's house, for example, had several rooms but was made of adobe and Manuela and her family did not consider it to be a house of *construção definitiva*.[152] They identified other houses in Calombotão similar in size to their mother's but which were made of cement bricks as being of *construção definitiva*.

Houses of *construção definitiva* are not necessarily completed immediately. If, as often happens, people do not have the resources to build the whole house at once, they build it in stages, beginning with one or two divisions (generally a bedroom and a living room) and developing others over time as resources allow. The Portuguese expression "*um quarto e sala"*– literally "a bedroom and a living room" – is commonly used in *bairros* and *musseques* of Angola. Planning for a bigger house, some people start by building rooms in the backyard,

[151] The questionnaire did not ask what kind of goods the head of the household sold in the informal market. In these ten cases, since they are able to have cement brick houses, the business is likely to be a relatively successful – they probably do not sell food, for example, where competition is very high and profit very low.
[152] Manuela and her brother were saving money to buy cement blocks in 2007 to build *anexos* in the backyard of their mother's house. Maria Kassoma will be able to live in these *anexos* while they knock down the main house made of adobe and rebuild it in cement blocks.

called *anexos*. These can later be transformed into a house for family members, especially children, as is the case with Manuela's brothers, who live in rooms built in the backyard of their mother's house. Alternatively, *anexos* or they can be rented out. If the construction of a house begins with *anexos* in the backyard, it is not considered a house in *construção definitiva* until the main house is finished, or at least until several rooms of the main house have been completted. However, building *anexos* from cement bricks alerts people from the start that this will be a house in *construção definitiva*. Thus even an incomplete house of bricks will be considered a proper house by comparison with an adobe house. The structure may not be there yet, but the project is.

Building houses, making people

In the introduction to *About the House*, Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) draw attention to the necessity of seeing houses "as processes", as non-static and dynamic entities (p.36). They highlight the inadequacies of the common opposition drawn between a "permanent house" and its "impermanent occupants" and suggest that we should look instead at the interaction between houses and the people living inside them – or, as Miller (2001: 2) suggests, at "the processes by which a home and its inhabitants transform each other". For Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995: 2), "the house is an extension of the person" and, as a result, changes in houses may reveal transformations undergone by its inhabitants – houses are continuously under construction, as are its occupants (Carsten, 1995). As they note, "if people construct houses and make them in their own image, so also do they use these houses and house-images to construct themselves as individuals and groups" (1995: 3).

So, projects of houses may also be projects of persons. People may construct houses and transform their dwellings in the process of constructing and transforming themselves – in the process of transformation leading to the "better life" and a "better self" towards which they aspire. Houses that start with *anexos* may already carry the project of a house in *construção definitiva* and by implication the projection of a better future self. This was the case for Joel Laurindo and João Fortunato in Calombotão. Both had elaborate houses made of cement bricks. Each house had several bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen with a small porch. While their houses were described by other residents of the neighbourhood as being of *construção definitiva*, neither Joel nor João considered them to be so. Both men had plans for the houses – and for themselves.

A stone-mason by trade, Joel Laurindo had been working on his house for some time. As a result, he still had not painted it. He planned to build a bathroom inside the house, to make it

"more developed". He wanted to build a larger living room, to accommodate his furniture better, after which he intended to tile the walls and paint the house. Only then, in his eyes, would the house be of *construção definitiva*. Joel had plans for his life too. He was in his early sixties when I met him. Like many people I met in Calombotão, he has several trades: as a stone-mason he heads a group of men who works for him, but he is also a tailor. He has resided in Calombotão since the mid-1980s and was introduced to me as one of the long time residents. He came originally from Chicuma, a village close to Ganda in the interior of Benguela Province, where he still has land and to which he plans to retire. He lived in Benguela in 1965 for a one year, again in 1977 for another year and then continuously since the mid-1980s. He lives in Calombotão with his third, much younger, wife[153] and their four young children. He is still studying in an attempt to finish the third level of basic education.[154] He is perceived as someone who has succeeded and is respected in the neighbourhood. As with his house, he seems to view his life as a project on which he is working.

João Fortunato painted his house inside, but the house was still not painted outside. Painted houses are quite rare in Calombotão and in many similar *bairros*, where the majority of the houses, even those of *construção definitiva*, are the brown colour of adobe or the greyish tone of cement. But João wanted to build his house again because, as he told me, his house did not have "proper foundations". The cracks in the walls of his house were, for him, one of the indications that his house (and the house of Joel Laurindo, whom he knew) was not of *construção defintiva*: they had not followed proper technical requirements. Their houses had not followed a proper architectural plan; in addition they were not built along straight lines. In sum, they were not built in accordance to the rule of an "urbanised" place (see Chapter 3). As he said to me once, "If a [construction] technician comes to these houses, he will find many technical shortcomings". At the beginning of 2008, when I visited Calombotão again, he was still working on his house.

João Fortunato is one of the few people I met in Calombotão who had completed higher studies. His belief in the value of school and in the importance of knowledge is such that he was willing to make tremendous efforts to complete university studies. When he came to live in Benguela in 1991, after the signature of one of the peace agreements of the 1990s, he had only finished basic education. Already 27 years old, with a family of his own, he decided to continue his studies while he worked as a primary school teacher in Calombotão. He proceeded to finish high school and go to the university where he was awarded a degree in

[153] His first wife died and he divorced the second who now lives in another town.
[154] In the Angolan education system, basic education ends with the 8th class. When a child starts school at 6 years old he/she will finish basic education when he/she is 13 or 14 years old.

education. When I met him, he was teaching in a high school. As he used to tell me, he had lots of "projects" for himself; he was not sure of achieving them but he was trying. One of these was to become a university lecturer. In 2008 when I saw him again, he was commuting to another town to teach at a small higher education establishment and had started a Masters degree.[155]

As these short descriptions show, both these two men are actively engaged in projects of personal transformation and improvement which resonate with continuous work and improvements on their houses. Although Joel Laurindo is over sixty, he is not thinking of retiring yet but, rather, is still studying, while João Fortunato has been continuously engaged in improving his education and achieving his goals.

When I tried to understand why houses in *construção definitiva* were so important, people in Calombotão generally gave me explanations related to the material advantages of cement-brick houses. They explained that such houses were more resistant, and that they last for years without "melting down" in the rain, whereas houses in adobe disintegrate and crumble very rapidly if they are not the object of steady maintenance. They told me that even if houses in adobe are covered in cement and painted, partially covering their vulnerability, they "dissolve" inside and their fragility is eventually exposed. However, I argue that while the material solidity of a house in cement bricks is undeniably important, for many residents of Calombotão, houses in *construção definitiva* contribute to what people call an "organised house" and that these function as "ideal homes", imaginings of a desired material world that corresponds to an "idealized notion of 'quality of life'" (Clarke, 2001: 28). I also argue that dreams of ideal homes, these "idealized notions of quality of life", are symbols of propriety that are historically grounded and constructed through social relationships. For many people in Calombotão, a house of *construção definitiva* is a proper house, associated with advancement and development.

As houses and people may serve as analogies to each other (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995), aspirations towards ideal homes may also reveal projects of "proper" personhood. In her work on The Park, a shack settlement in the outskirts of Cape Town, Ross (2005) shows how the possibility of moving to new, state-built houses was perceived as a way of building respectability and of "matching up to expectations of decency". João Fortunato and Joel Laurindo's continuous improvements to make their houses of *construção definitiva* were also linked to expectations of upward social mobility and of becoming more "advanced", more

[155] Chapter 6 discusses issues related to change and subjectivity formation, based on the personal trajectories of both Manuela and João Fortunato, and there I give further details on João Fortunato's life.

"developed". A "developed person" is expected to have a house of *construção definitiva*, an organised house, and, as I will show below, a permanent, waged job. It is significant that both these men invested so much in education, which has been strongly linked to "civilising processes" in Angola historically and is now linked to advancement and development. As Chapter 2 described, before 1961, achievement of the status of *assimilado* was dependant on having completed primary education. At present, education and university degrees are essential for progress in professional life and in earnings but also for social recognition. João Fortunato in particular, with his spacious house in *construção definitiva*, his university degree and his job as a university lecturer is said by other residents of Calombotão to be a "developed person".

The fact that João Fortunato and João Laurindo and their houses were still undergoing transformation explains why neither had yet painted their houses. There are two main reasons why people do not paint their houses in neighbourhoods such as Calombotão. Firstly, paint is expensive. Secondly, painting would signal the end of process of construction, of the house and also of their owner, states which Joel Laurindo and João Fortunato have not yet reached. They still have dreams for their houses just as they have dreams for themselves. Paint would be the final detail in the process of building a house in *construção definitiva*; the detail that would signal the achievement of a proper house, a "developed house" and as a result the achievement of a better self, an "advanced" person. So, as I demonstrate throughout this chapter, by working to achieve a house of *construção definitiva,* residents of Calombotão were also symbolically seeking to construct themselves as developed persons, as people who were advancing.

Having "all the conditions": furniture and appliances in an organised house

While a house of *construção definitiva* constitutes the fundamental element of an organised house, it is not the only one. As Gomes, an ex-soldier who worked with João Fortunato, once told me, an organised house must have "all the conditions". As Chapter 3 described, this expression – "to have all the conditions" – means that one has access to what is necessary to live a comfortable life, one which demonstrates that one is not destitute and that one lives life as "it should be lived" – a proper life (see footnote 108 in Chapter 3).

A "house in order" should have furniture and appliances. "It must be fully furnished, with sofas, gas stove, refrigerator… everything" said Gomes. Manuela told me, "People are very well organised now in Calombotão. They have furniture, a good bed." In this observation, the link between being organised and having furniture is clear. The case of Filomena's house

below, along with data from my survey, shows how furniture, appliances and small details in the decoration of the house contribute to the construction of an organised house. Filomena is Joel Laurindo's eldest daughter. She lives in a small house in the back yard of Joel Laurindo's house. As she explained to me, her house was only an *anexo* when in 1992 she and her husband fled Ganda because of the war. Since their arrival in Calombotão, they have built other rooms on to the house and made several improvements to its structure. Although smaller than her father's house, Filomena's house also has several rooms. It is built of cement bricks and painted white.

In 2005 Filomena was in her late thirties and working as a child-attendant in a public kinder-garden in the *cidade*. Born in Chicuma, Filomena came to Benguela with her mother to join Joel Laurindo in 1977. She then married a man who worked for the government in Ganda where the couple and their children lived until 1992 when the war resumed again. Filomena and her family fled to Benguela, but her husband returned later to Ganda, as he had kept his position as a civil servant. As she was already working for the kindergarten she decided to stay in Benguela with their four children. In 2005, when I met her, her husband was still working in Ganda and occasionally visited Benguela over weekends.The first time I visited her, we entered the house through a small room, where a motorbike and a bicycle were leaning against the wall. The opposite corner served as a kitchen – there was a stove, and a few pots on top of a shelf. I followed her into the living room which was spacious and painted bright pink. The interior of Filomena's house was carefully decorated, the result of much investment and care. This room, which had both a living and a dining area, was extensively furnished. In contrast with many houses I had visited in Calombotão, it had many more objects which were carefully displayed. Three sofas were placed around a small coffee table where we sat. The dining area was also generously furnished with a pine table, several chairs and a spacious, glass-fronted display cabinet in which glasses, cups and plates could be seen. A large TV and a powerful hi-fi rested on the cabinet, and a fridge and freezer stood against one of the walls. None of these actually worked, as there was no electricity in the neighbourhood. Although Filomena's house was not very spacious, in her opinion it was already a house of *construção definitiva* not only because it was built of cement bricks and fully painted, but also because it was so abundantly furnished and decorated. These elements signalled an "organised house".

When I did my fieldwork in 2005, electricity supply in Benguela had not been extended to all the areas of the *bairros* where I worked. João Fortunato and a group of better-off neighbours, who own several electric appliances, had been asking the state electricity company to supply

their area but by 2006 that had still not happened.[156] When I visited Calombotão in the evenings during my fieldwork, the *bairro* was completely dark, lit at points by flickering paraffin lamps and by a few electric lights fed by small individual electricity generators,[157] giving light to a few houses of the *bairro*. Filomena owned one such generator and used it to run her appliances occasionally so that they did not break down. Her father and a few neighbours also owned small generators but they were not in constant use, as they run on fuel, which is expensive. In some households, the generator is used during part of the evening so the family can watch TV. However, as I discuss below, despite the lack of electricity in Calombotão to run them, people nevertheless invested in electric appliances, which played an important symbolic role.

Unfortunately, my survey, carried out at the beginning of the fieldwork, did not ask about furniture.[158] However, it did collect a wide range of information related to household appliances, most of which operate on battery power and on electric generators. As per Table 15, more than seventy-five percent of households had at least a radio or musical appliance. Maria Kassoma had only one small radio that was broken when I met her, but one of her sons had a big music player in his small room. Filomena had a powerful hi-fi.

Table 15: Number of radio and/or music appliances

	n	%
0	49	24.7
1	129	65.2
2	16	8.1
3 or more	4	2.0
Total	**198**	**100.0**

[156] At the end of 2007, electricity was finally being supplied to most areas of Calombotão.

[157] Electricity generators became a feature of many middle- to high-income urban homes of Angola in the mid-1980s when infrastructure for the production and transport of electricity were targeted in the war. Since that period, electricity supply has never become fully regular, not even in the country's main urban centres. Because generators were fairly expensive at that time, very few low-income families could afford to buy one. With the arrival on the Angolan market of much cheaper Chinese-made electric generators, however, some households in Calombotão had bought one. This being a relatively recent phenomenon in 2005, electric generators did not feature in my questionnaire.

[158] As explained in Chapter 1, the survey was designed to collect preliminary information on a broad range of household issues in the study areas – household demographics, migration, local social life and also income and income-generating activities – since I had very little knowledge of these neighbourhoods and no statistics about them were available. The information about household appliances that I describe here was collected to give me an idea of household income, since it is often difficult to obtain accurate reported information on this variable. The questionnaire was partially adapted from questionnaires that I had used previously in my work as a development consultant. Many of these questionnaires are designed for rural areas and researchers assume that household furniture is not an important area of investment in those areas.

TV sets are less common; nevertheless, almost 45% of households of Calombotão and adjacent *bairros* have at least one TV set (Table 16).

Table 16: Number of TV sets at home

	n	%
0	111	56.1
1	80	40.4
2 or more	7	3.5
Total	**198**	**100.0**

As one would expect, possession of TVs and of other home appliances is more likely among those who are socially and financially better off: households where the household head had a permanent job or better *negócios*[159] in the informal market and higher education were more likely to have more possessions at home. While only 48.6% of households whose head had a permanent waged job did not have a TV, this was the case in 58% of households whose head was a seller in the informal market and 60% of those where the household head had his/her own trade. Households whose head had higher level of education had also more TVs: while only 49.2% of households whose head had completed the second level of basic education and 43.6% of those having completed the third level of basic education did not have a TV, this percentage reached 80% for the households whose head had only primary education and 76.5% where this person had no education or had not completed primary education.

Everyone, young and old described televisions as an indispensable item in a "house in order" – TVs are linked to being *actualizado*. As established in Chapter 3, the concept of *estar actualizado* is strongly associated with technology and contemporaneity. Young people spoke of black and white TV sets disdainfully as old fashioned, jokingly calling them "rainy TVs", not as *actualizadas* as colour TVs.

Refrigerators and fridges were rarer, although they were also mentioned as items of "a house in order". As Table 17 shows, only 18% of households in the areas I studied had a refrigerator or a freezer. Among the houses I visited, only in three did I see refrigerators, and these were not functioning. Most families in Calombotão buy food for consumption on a daily basis and so do not generally need a refrigerator to store perishable food items. Indeed,

[159] The literal English translation is "business". However, in the context of the informal market, "*negócio*" refers to the activity of selling, usually in the local market (Cabral 2004).

many of the households whose refrigerator is always working have made a business out of it: they sell ice or cold drinks.

Table 17: Number of refrigerators and/or freezers

	n	%
0	162	81.8
1	35	17.7
2	1	0.5
Total	**198**	**100.0**

As with TV sets, while 68.6% households whose household head had a permanent waged job did not have a freezer or refrigerator, this was the case for 84% of households whose head was a seller in the informal market and 96% of the cases where the household head had his/her own business. The lower the level of education, the lower the chances of having a freezer or a refrigerator at home: 92.3% of households whose head had no education at all or had not completed primary education did not have a freezer or refrigerator, while this was the case for 88.6% of homes whose head had reached primary education and 80.3% where this person had attained second level of basic education.

Many houses that I visited used small charcoal stoves for daily cooking. Only 32.8% (n=65) of the surveyed households had gas stoves. As with TV sets and refrigerators, possession of a gas stove is related to income-generating activities and to education: while only 44.3% of the households whose head had a permanent job did not have a gas stove, this number reached 66% for sellers in the informal market and 82% for those with their own small business; while 80% of households whose head had only completed primary education did not have a gas stove, this number decreased to 62.3% for households whose head had completed the second level of basic education and to 53.8% for households whose head had reached third level of basic education.

However, even if some houses had gas stoves, they were not always in use. This was the case with Maria Kassoma and her son Quim. Better-off families, like those of Joel Laurindo and his daughter and of João Fortunato, used both gas and charcoal stoves. As many families live on money earned in daily informal income-generating activities, the large capital outlay required for gas appliances and gas is beyond the means of many. For example, Quim had a gas stove but could not use it because he did not have the money to pay for a container of domestic gas. Although he could save some money, he was keeping it to invest in developing his medicine-selling business in the local market.

The importance of appliances and furniture – even if not used – in the constitution of an organised house was confirmed by several people with whom I spoke. When Manuela told me that people in Calombotão were now "very well organised" and that many had abundant furniture in their homes, she also let me know that "people may have a good table well decorated, but they don't use it; their children eat outside every day". Manuela said this as if she wished to inform me that, even if one can see houses with tables in the living rooms of Calombotão, one should not assume that people there eat at table. Manuela was saying that furniture is not always there to be used in its primary function – for example, a table as the place where meals are taken. In placing furniture in their homes, people are not only using the objects for their primary purpose but are (also) sending symbolic messages about themselves and about how they would like to be seen (Meintjes, 2000). Manuela was suggesting that people were just "showing off". But what about? Who is their audience?

Spectators of propriety: for whom are organised houses displayed?

Clarke (2001) draws attention to the fact that although her informants in north London invested significant effort and resources on redecorating and transforming their homes, these efforts did not seem directly aimed at visitors, as neighbours seldom visited each other. Instead, these transformations seemed to respond to "an internalised vision of what people might think of one" (ibid: 42). So, transformations in the house seemed not to be directed to neighbours, but to some "interiorized other". As Clarke says, in these cases,

> The house objectifies the vision the occupants have of themselves in the eyes of others and as such it becomes an entity and process to live up to, give time to, show off to. As against actual observers it is an interiorized image of the other that can actually be worked on and fed into the aspirations and labour of the occupants. (ibid: 42)

Clarke stresses that imaginings of "houses in order" (p. 36) and imagined forms of quality of life are not set by visitors and neighbours or by trendy "home magazines". Rather, they have been internalised. This idea of an internalised vision of the ideal, of the proper, of how life should be, resonates with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which has been central to my argument. As described in Chapter 4, habitus is constituted by internalised systems of dispositions. Using the concept of habitus, I argue that forms of "houses in order" and of ideal ways of living have been internalised through socialisation, imprinted on one's habitus, to create this "structured structure" which has the "structuring power" to make people work on home decorating and home transforming in specific ways.

In her case study, Ross (n.d and 2005) draws attention, similarly, to how expectations of decency through moving to new houses corresponded equally to aspiring ideals set by others. She uses the notion of hegemony to explain that people may abide by standards of decency established by others. Following Bordieu's thinking, social order can become hegemonic (and as the author suggests, it is actually the most effective and economic form of domination) when it is naturalised – when it is perceived as being in the ordinary order of things. Bourdieu (1979: 549) speaks of *doxa*, as the adherence to (ordinary) relationships of order and to hierarchies of value which, as they have been internalised through processes of social conditioning, become naturalised.

In her paper, Clarke does not clearly specify who the "internalised others" are. I suggest that we look at "internalised others", these "others" that contribute to establishing standards of proper houses, as others of the past (historical others) and others of the present (contemporary others). The idea of historical others is contained in the historical dimension of the concept of habitus – ideals of "houses in order" which were internalised and imprinted on habitus have been historically constructed. I argue that imaginings of urban homes, that is ideals of proper urban homes in Angola have been constructed through history which, as Chapters 2 and 6 show, both subtly established and sometimes strongly imposed the form of "proper houses".

However, historically constructed ideals of proper houses are constantly challenged by contemporary empirical reality, by "contemporary others". These "contemporary others" may be close others – for example, neighbours and friends (who, unlike in Clarke's study, do visit each other, gazing, evaluating, commenting on each other's houses and sometimes emulating each other's dwellings); migrant friends and family who bring new ideas from more distant places; and also more distant others, such as people and houses described in magazines and on TV shows, and people one meets at the work place.

I realised the power of these "contemporary others" one day when Antonieta, Joel Laurindo's wife, told me with sadness that she would like to change the furniture of her living room. I asked why. Shrugging her shoulders, Antonieta said, "Nice furniture is what João Fortunato has. Furniture that comes from Namibia. Furniture that comes in boxes [that is, furniture that was bought in shops]." Her own furniture was made by a local carpenter, as was the case for most of the houses that I visited, and not bought in shops, let alone imported. Indeed, Filomena's and João Fortunato's living rooms contained furniture that was not made by local carpenters but had been bought from a shop, imported from Namibia or South Africa through the many informal importing channels that exist in Angola. This reference to imported pieces

of furniture was later made by other people with whom I conversed in Calombotão. Furniture made by a local carpenter was considered old and "old fashioned", in some cases almost a source of embarrassment.

If furniture and appliances play a part in the construction of a proper house, their symbolic power may change. Antonieta's view of furniture (her own and João Fortunato's) demonstrates that in specific social fields the symbolic meaning of objects and practices change and these objects and practices may acquire or lose symbolic power. Tables and chairs made by local carpenters were no longer valued. As the relationship between objects, practices and symbolic meanings is constantly produced, sometimes reproduced and sometimes revised and modified, the same objects and practices may come to be classified differently (sometimes "declassified") and therefore to acquire other symbolic meanings. Different objects and practices may come to occupy the symbolic meanings that these objects and practices used to occupy (Bourdieu 1979).

The notion of internalised ideals of organised houses that have been set in an historical past might suggest a picture of determinism and rigidity – as though actors of the present had no choice but to follow ideals set in the past. However, as Sahlins (1985) suggests, cultural categories reproduce themselves and simultaneously change as they are always submitted to empirical contexts. While "an organised house" or "the proper furniture of an organised house" still works as a cultural category "by which a present world is orchestrated" (Sahlins 1985: 144), "in action", that is through practical use, these categories "pick up some novel empirical content" (ibid.). The notion of an organised house still carries lingering historical residues. After Independence, ideals of development allowed for the reproduction of some of the conceptions of *avanço* (advancement) which continue to permeate imaginings of what a "developed person" should be and of how a "developed person" should live. On the other hand, the details of what constitutes an organised house have been constantly submitted to empirical factors and to "contemporary others" all of which contribute to challenging and slightly modifying the ideals of an organised house. Thus, while an organised house still functions as a cultural category, the furniture constitutive of an organised house may change "in action". It is in this constant relationship between historically established sociocultural categories and empirical realities that these categories may remain as socially functioning cultural concepts but still change (ibid.). This idea of simultaneous change and permanence can be applied to other sociocultural categories to which I refer in this thesis, such as *bairro* and *cidade*, *avanço* and *atraso* which have been used for a long time but whose "empirical content" has been changing through time. I return to this discussion in Chapter 7.

A house that makes someone of you: An organised house and symbolic power

"People are measured by what they have," João Fortunato said to me one day, expressing thereby, very clearly, the role of material objects in making statements about the "value" of their owners. Fortunato implies that personal value comes from what people are able to acquire (Miller, 1998). But what are these objects saying that is able to bestow value upon their owners? João Fortunato knew that objects, "what one has", have symbolic power and can as a result function as factors in social differentiation and classification. As he said to me, "If you have a house of your own, built in acceptable and durable material (…) people will say you have worked; you have won. After that, if that house is furnished, with good furniture, then people will say that this is a family who has [everything]." It should be noted that the verb used by João Fortunato was *ganhar* which in Portuguese may mean both "to earn (a salary)" and "to win", which gives a multiple sense to the sentence. The meaning "earning a salary" of the verb *ganhar* also establishes a relationship between a salary, that is a waged job, and the possibility of buying objects that will make one's life "advance", objects that matter and that will show that one has moved forward. By earning [a salary] one also wins [a battle], one is able to achieve something. But what does one achieve?

First of all, one achieves a better material life. So, by earning a salary one is able to win the "battle" of building a house in *construção definitiva*, of buying furniture and of buying an electricity generator and other items that will render life materially easier. But, as shown in Chapter 3, certain objects and practices are also associated with notions of development and advancement. As established above, a house in *construção definitiva* is linked to notions of *cidade*, an urbanised place and development. The same is true of electrical appliances and with a certain type of furniture.

Meintjes (2000: 57) notes that, for poor people, "avoiding a public image of poverty [by drawing on the meaning of domestic objects] is fundamental to the pursuit of individual and household propriety". In her book on *onderlinkheid* (decency / respectability), Ross (n.d.) also shows how material property is an important component of people's imaginaries of living decent lives and of making respectable persons. In Calombotão too, people strive for propriety. An organised house is the "proper house" (de Certeau, 1990), a house built and furnished in the appropriate manner. Struggling for an organised house is therefore struggling for propriety, for elements of a life lived in accordance with what has been historically and socially constructed as value; a life where one does not fear the regard of others as Manuela did as a child, or where everything does not seem to become dark as was the case for Antonieta.

However, I argue that by striving for proper houses people are doing more than avoiding an image of poverty. Talking with people in the market and with residents in *quintais* and in the living rooms of Calombotão homes, I had the impression that an organised house, and a household's and an individual's propriety as a result, was constructed to signify distance from material constraint, but also to signify closeness to what is perceived as development and *avanço*. By earning a salary and being able to surround oneself with socially valued material items, one is also showing that one is propelling one's life forward, "advancing"; that one is becoming more "developed". A cousin of João Fortunato's went to Lunda Provinces, made money through trading and *negócios* and was then able to buy a house, furniture and a car. As João Fortunato said, "he had advanced". By building an organised house and filling it with "all the conditions", "one is making one's life advance". And since, as discussed above, projects of houses may signify projects of persons, by building an organised house one affirms one's "value" as an advanced person. Through that process, one ensures social differentiation within the *bairro* and also "wins" in the implicit competition with the others.

However, while an organised house is the object of desire, as Gomes told me, "An organised house is expensive, so you need to [plan] for the future and to have plans, to have projects, because to keep up with the costs of an organised house one needs a lot of money." In the context of great material constraint, this is one of the reasons why, as I describe below, people are frequently making plans in relation to what they should or could do to make money. For some people, the solution is to have a job. Not any job, but a proper job, a permanent job in the formal economic sector, a waged job. In the current Angolan context, this is not always possible. And in some cases, it is not always sufficient either.

What do you do to make a living: Jobs, *negócios* and other small things

A permanent job above all

As in Quim's description of his dream life, in addition to a house of his own, there was also a job. In the same way, a permanent job is both the ideal and a source of anxiety for many people I met in Calombotão, especially for men. In Benguela, in the context of widespread unemployment, few people have access to waged jobs.[160] The survey carried out in January 2005, at the beginning of my fieldwork, asked what was the main activity through which the head of the household earned money for the family. Only 35.5% (70) of the respondents had

[160] There is no official unemployment rate for the city of Benguela but estimates indicate it to exceed 50% (Cabral, 2002: 127). According to Cabral, during the 1990s, more than 80% of industries ceased functioning in Benguela Province, especially during the war at the end of 1992 when many local industries were looted and destroyed. In 2004, this sector only employed 15.5% of the number of workers it had employed in 1990.

a permanent, waged job. Of these, only 17.1% (12) were women. Most of the respondents either had a *negócio* (25.4%; 50) – that is, they made a living from various activities in the "informal market", selling a variety of goods and products in markets or on the streets – or they had small businesses on their own (25.4%; 50), as *kupapatas* (motorbike-taxi driverss), mechanics or stone-masons like Joel Laurindo.

As de Vletter (2002) points out, there is no entirely satisfactory definition for the informal sector in Angola, as the boundaries between the formal and informal sectors are quite fluid. Definitions related to the payment of fiscal obligations to the state are not always useful, as many informal economic actors pay different types of authorisations to the state to be able to operate, while economic actors in the formal sector often actively dodge their fiscal obligations. In order to distinguish formal from informal sectors of the economy, de Vletter uses as an indicator the economic agent's possession of an *alvará*, a state-issued license to do business. An *alvará* is issued after the payment of several other fees and usually refers to an economic activity carried out "inside premises that are considered permanent" (ibid: 17). The need for the activity to be carried out inside permanent buildings is an important distinction, as most informal-sector activities are carried out in open market stalls or on the streets. Once again, a "permanent building" functions as the criterion for access to legal status and recognition by the state, that is, access to the proper.

However, as in Calombotão, it is in the informal sector that many Angolan adults earn their living. Using statistics on employment distribution in Angola that showed 43% of respondents as self-employed, [161] de Vletter draws attention to the importance of self-employment in Angola. While this figure gives a general sense of the significance of the informal sector in the economy and for the livelihoods of Angolan households, it may still under-reflect the importance of the informal sector, since, as shown below, many people employed in the formal sector are also active in the informal sector too. [162]

Most of the women I met in Calombotão had small *negócios* in the *bairro*, with the exception of Filomena who was employed as a child-minder in the *cidade*: some sold used clothes; some made and sold *capuka* from home; many re-sold drinks and food they bought in the Caponte Market, the main market of Benguela. The results of my survey also show that it is in *negócios* that women constitute the majority. Of the fifty respondents who gave *negócios*

[161] The study indicated that 34% of the respondents had a wage job (10% in the state administration, 5% in public companies, 19% in the private sector); 16% worked on family non-remunerated activities; 6% were entrepreneurs who could employ other people and 1% had other activities (INE, 2001, cited in de Vletter, 2002).
[162] For a discussion on the informal sector in urban Africa see for example Simone (2004), in particular pp.21-62.

as the primary economic activity for earning a living, thirty were women. Some of the men I met had permanent jobs; this was the case for João Fortunato, Gomes, Kassinda and Patricio, among others. Others, such as Quim, were market vendors. Some had a business of their own, as Joel Laurindo did. Others, such as Bernardo and Filipe, had held a permanent job in the formal sector in the past and were actively and desperately seeking another permanent waged job.

When I started asking what people did to make a living, I was struck by the variety and range of income-generating activities in which people, especially men, engaged simultaneously, and by the vast and sometimes apparently disparate array of activities in which many of the people I met had engaged through the course of their lives. This was true for those both with and without permanent, waged jobs. Manuela's father, introduced above, had been a farmer, a tailor and a primary school teacher while in Caviva. In Benguela, he had traded in agricultural produce brought from Cubal made clothes and sold them in Caponte Market, worked in a factory, and eventually become an "informal nurse". When I met him, João Fortunato had a permanent job as a professor in a secondary school, and had also created a local micro-credit association. He had previously run a taxi business, but his van had broken down. Not content with these occupations, he continues to consider other businesses that he could develop from home. Joel Laurindo was a civil servant until 1977. Thereafter, he worked in a shop and taught in a primary school. He has always been a tailor and now has a small construction business, as well as continuing his studies in order to complete secondary school. Filomena's husband, in addition to being a civil servant in Ganda, had a disco bar in that town, as well as a car that he used to transport merchandise between Ganda and Benguela. He was thinking at that time of buying another car to develop the business. Quim was also always looking for something to do: he had been selling medicine for some time in the local market of Calombotão, he had bought a motorbike to start a business as a *kupapata* – a business that did not succeed – and he was actively considering other activities he might launch. As his brother Francisco had worked in a bakery and since Quim himself had bought a gas stove, he was thinking of starting a small business baking cakes at home for his wife to sell. As Maria Kassoma had gone back to Caviva, at a certain point Quim wondered whether he should not move there as well. The range of activities and plans in each of these individual's lives is not unusual in the social and economic context of Angola as I explain below.

Since 2002, after the end of the war, it has also been possible for many families to spread income-generating activities between Benguela, the town where they live or where part of the family is living, and the small towns and rural areas from which they come. This is especially

true for individuals from the interior of Benguela Province. So, like Filomena's husband, some people buy goods in Benguela and agricultural produce from the rural areas in the interior, and trade back and forth. Some members of the family (the wife, for example) might stay in Benguela and continue working in the informal market, while other family members work in the fields in the rural areas, growing produce to feed the family and to sell in Benguela. Several authors have pointed to the importance of rural-urban circulation as a strategy (both rural and urban) to diversify the sources of household income and counter livelihood fluctuations and uncertainty (see for example Simone, 2004 and Costa, 2008).

The case of Ismael, Manuela's cousin, provides another interesting example of plurality of income-generating practices, holding a formal permanent job alongside small businesses and agrarian activities. Ismael is approximately the same age as Manuela. Although he lives in a *bairro* of Cubal and is employed as an army nurse, he is a frequent visitor to Colombotão and plans to set up a business trading between the two places. Next to his house he has built a small *lanchonete* (a place selling, mostly, drinks and small snacks). His cousins farm the land Ismael inherited near Cubal, from which he obtains most of his food. He has invested a portion of his savings from the army in cattle – his "bank", as he calls it (see also Ferguson 1990) – and currently owns some eighty head. As he would like to expand his business, Ismael was thinking of selling half of his cattle, at the time we met, in order to invest in a small truck for trading goods he would buy in Benguela and sell in Cubal. In his study in rural Lesotho, Ferguson (1990) also notes that cattle are used to store money which can then be freed up under specific circumstances. But while Ferguson points out that cattle cannot be converted to cash through sale "except under certain conditions usually specified as a great and serious need for money (…) a situation arising from an emergency or from poverty" (ibid: 147), Ismael seemed to be willing to use money stored in cattle as an investment to increase his business power. He was also considering opening a bank account.

Such plurality in income-generating activities seems to be more common for men. Women tend to be more present and concentrated in *negócios* (de Vletter, 2002; Rodrigues, 2005 and the results of my survey). In Calombotão, as I mention above, most women I met brewed *capuka* at home and sold drinks, food and clothing from home or in local markets. As they have generally lower education levels, women also have less access to the formal job market.

The plurality of activities, even amongst those permanently employed in the formal sector, is noted by other authors working in Angola. Cabral (2002: 146) studying a group of vendors in

the Caponte Market of Benguela showed that 13.6% of these vendors were also formally employed, in addition to the small businesses they ran in the market. In her study of the labour market in Luanda, Rodrigues (2005) reveals the extent to which what she calls the "pluriactivity" is a characteristic of that market, including on the part of formally employed individuals. As she points out, a plurality of activities is very often related to low salaries earned in waged employment. In his studies of African cities, Simone (2004: 10) draws also attention to the proliferation of "economic arrangements" in which urban dwellers are involved. The author does not only refer to the shrinking formal employment sector and the material need at the origin of this proliferation of activities. He points also to the attempt by individuals in African cities to "participate in different activities at the same time" and "become different kinds of actors for different communities and activities" (ibid.).

However, the plurality and variety of activities which people undertake throughout their lives in order to generate income seems also to be linked to a rapidly changing social and economic context and the feeling of uncertainty that results. As João Fortunato once told me, people pay attention to "what is working out" in the market and they change or add other activities which "are working out" if necessary. What is important is to be able to make a living and if possible one that allows for a good life. For example, while it was a good business to make clothes until the beginning of the 1990s, and it was possible at that time to find many tailors in the *bairros* (Manuela's father, for example), this business is now practically dead, as a result of the market in second-hand clothes imported mainly from Europe through certain humanitarian organisations (see also Hansen, 1994 and 1995). A motorbike taxi (*kupapata*) was, likewise, a good business a few years ago, providing for the subsistence of one family, but, with the increase in the number of taxis on the market, the margins in the business decreased and this activity may now be insufficient to generate a living for one family. Even in relation to permanent waged jobs, adaptation to changes in the context has been necessary, as described below; the attachment to permanent jobs has also varied with the social and economic context.

So, in the context of great poverty,[163] high unemployment, low levels of education and great pressure on the activities of the informal sector, people are always looking for what other activities they can do, instead of or in addition to what they are already doing, in order to increase their income and material security and to be able to buy the objects necessary for an organised life. Sometimes these activities appear to have little in common. They represent various possibilities of income-generating activities in a context of high unemployment and of

[163] In 2001, 68% of the Angolan Population was estimated or live under the poverty line (República de Angola, 2003b).

low salaries in the many sectors of the formal labour market and of high uncertainty in the informal market. Uncertainty in the local market is linked to the fluctuating (and uncertain) demand for products and also to the fact that activities in the informal market are always at risk of being considered illegal by the government and therefore of being closed down. During my research period, for example, market stalls where medicine was sold were closed by the police; motorbikes of *kupapata* had been forbidden to park in certain areas of the *cidade*, and policemen were often aggressive and sometimes violent towards women selling vegetables on the pavements of the *cidade*. This ambiguous relationship to the law, to what is legal or illegal, creates the same kind of relationship to what one does for a living as it does to the type of house which one has built. Informal activities are outside the law and sometimes government authorities clamp down on them, in the same way as "anarchic constructions" are sometimes destroyed.

However, even if the majority of residents of Calombotão can only access a variety of activities in the informal market, a permanent waged job, in particular one in the state administration, is what this majority dreams of. This is particularly true for men. What was also clear from my conversations and is verified in other studies (see for example, Rodrigues, 2005) is that even if the total household income is gathered from a variety of sources, a permanent job holds an important position. This is expressed both by people who are formally employed and those who are not. Having a permanent job, especially for a man, is so important that Boaventura, a young man who has been trying to go to the university and who is also looking for a job, gave me a whole scale of words to designate what one may do for income (and not all of things one can do deserve to be called "work" or "job". For Boaventura, "Working is to have a job. Working is when you have a boss and a salary. When you have a *negócio*, when you sell in the market, you are not working. Unless you have a stall that has lots of clients. Then you may say that you have a mini-job." Below I compare wage jobs, *negócios* in general and good *negócios* (mini-jobs) and show the implicit meanings that the scale suggested by Boaventura may hide.

The importance of a waged job, but also of a good *negócio* was confirmed by Quim who, looking at his small medicine selling stall, told me that what he would like to have is a "good *negócio* or, even better, a job". He added, "Selling in the market is nothing. This is nothing." Selling in the market, especially for a man, is perceived as something one does merely to gather income, which should be "complementary" to a job. "Selling in the market is secondary," agreed a man who sells medicine alongside Quim. By this he meant that selling in the market is something a man may do, if he has a job. But selling in the market should not be the only thing a man does. As mentioned above, the pressure to have a proper job is felt

by men especially; women do not feel the pressure as much. As they have lower levels of formal education and fewer professional skills than men, women have less access to the formal job market; in addition, men are still expected to be the bread winners and therefore to have a regular, stable, formal job.

Thus, even if salaries from permanent jobs are so low and that one must expand into other fields to gather sufficient income to make a living, and even if the income from other sources is higher than the salary, a job, a permanent job, is still essential both for those who have a permanent job and for those who long for one. I found this intriguing. Why would a permanent job play such an important role in people's lives, if their main income might actually come from other sources? Indeed, in some cases, as many studies have shown (Rodrigues, 2005, Cabral, 2004, de Vletter 2002), women's income from *negócios* is sometimes much higher than the salaries of their husbands.

Jobs, material security and an organised life

One of the first advantages that people see in a permanent waged job is the security of a regular income and the financial stability it provides. As many of my male informants told me, "You know that every end of the month the money comes to your hands, it is there." A permanent job is not like a *negócio* for which there are no guarantees. As João Fortunato said, "With a permanent job you don't need to worry, you don't need to have too many thoughts."

During the period of Angola's centrally planned economy (the 1970s and 1980s), salaries could not buy many things. However, permanent jobs provided material security in other ways. In addition to salaries, many jobs assured the employee of access to goods and services[164] that could be traded in the "informal market" for money, thus generating an income several times higher than the formal salary. Even if salaries in the state administration were not very high, such jobs offered services that could be informally "traded" as well. Salaries in the state administration have increased, but these forms of trading still continue today, even in sectors such as public education and health. These are not the only advantages of a permanent job. Other, less ambiguous, benefits include pensions, holidays and sick or family leave while still receiving a full salary at the end of the month. These

[164] For example, depending on one's position in the institution's hierarchy, benefits could include access to special shops supplying things (food, drinks and consumption goods) that were rare in the open market could be available. People working in factories might have access (sometimes legal and other times through less legal forms) to goods made in the factory that could be traded in the informal market (see Cabral, 2004 and Rodrigues, 2005, for more details)

benefits are especially appreciated when compared to the situation of those who have their own businesses in informal markets, who cannot afford any absence without an immediate financial penalty, on top of already highly stressed financial resources.

The value placed on permanent jobs is profoundly marked by how people read the social and economic context of Angola and by the fact that most residents of a neighbourhood like Calombotão live under great material pressure and are always seeking ways to attain greater material stability. Opinions expressed and decisions taken in relation to jobs and income-generating activities indicate that people generally have a good practical understanding of the economic context. People's rationales for their decisions are well-grounded in that context. For example, almost every individual with whom I talked showed a clear preference for jobs in the state administration as opposed to jobs in the private sector. At the beginning of my fieldwork, this surprised me as I knew that the state administration did not pay well. There are reasons for that preference that relate to the history of Angola, as at the beginning of the XX century jobs in the state administration were a major factor in the access to the status of *assimilado* (see Chapter 2), and to current perceptions of jobs in the state administration, as I show below; however, the main reason given for the preference was again linked to security of employment and of income. The majority of people in Calombotão and other *bairros* have very low levels of formal education and few qualifications. In general, they are unlikely to have access to the international or large-scale private sector. Outside the state administration, many *bairro* residents' only chances of employment lie with the small enterprises of a relatively new and fragile local private sector.[165] As Filomena told me, "Private companies do not last for long." This has certainly been true in Angola. A great deal of privatisation was carried out in the early 1990s, when the country was at peace and huge growth possibilities seemed to open out for an emergent private sector. In reality, a new war in the 1990s and other structural difficulties led many of the new private companies to bankruptcy and their labour force to unemployment.

Filipe, desperately looking for a job

Filipe was born in Cubal and came to Benguela in 1978 because of his job. His family came from Quilengues, a region in Huila Province. His father was a carpenter who had also migrated to Cubal. Filipe's wife comes from Caimbambo and arrived in Benguela in 1980. She has a small negócio in Calombotão Market. Filipe did primary school in the Catholic Mission of Cubal and secondary school (a further two years) in a technical school in Cubal.

[165] This may be changing (as of 2008), since important infrastructure reconstruction projects were launched in the preceding two years and thus formal employment may have increased, since those sectors do not require only high-level skills.

In Cubal, Filipe worked in logistics for Aerovia, a company involved in building roads. He moved to Benguela when, in 1978, Aerovia was repairing the Benguela-Dombe road. But Aerovia was forced to close as a result of the war in 1993 and Filipe was made redundant. After that, he worked for a big fisheries corporation made up of four different companies. When the corporation was privatised and the companies separated during the 1990s, Filipe was employed by one of them, FrigoCenter, which employed 300 people. FrigoCenter went bankrupt in 2003, leaving workers unpaid for an entire year. Filipe had been unemployed since 2003 when I met him in 2005.

Since Independence the state administration has been the main job provider and its appeal may be growing, as the salaries it offers seem to be increasing. Residents of Calombotão are particularly interested in jobs as teachers and nurses, which are much sought after. Many young people apply to be accepted at teacher training school in Benguela, where entrance is fiercely competitive.[166] Why were such jobs desired?, I asked myself. There are historical and symbolic reasons, some of which I discuss below, but it is also true that the education and health sectors account for 83% of employment in the state administration and are the two sectors for which the state has been hiring in substantial numbers since 2003, especially education (Cabral, 2004: 126). These are also sectors (public primary school teaching and nursing) that have generally been abandoned by the middle class. As a result, competition from potentially more qualified individuals has decreased and opportunities for less qualified people have therefore increased. While I worked in Calombotão, many young people were anxiously trying to participate in official competitions to become teachers and were waiting nervously afterwards for the results. That was the situation for Boaventura, for example, who had finished high school and who seemed a bit lost: he had not been able to pass the entrance examination for the University in Benguela and had also failed in the competition to become a primary school teacher. Boaventura was doing small jobs for his uncle, waiting to see what he could do next.

I was moved by the sometimes desperate situation of young people in places like Calombotão. Many have low qualifications, either because they gave up school, or because the instability caused by the war did not allow them a stable schooling process, or because,

[166] There is one Education Training Institute in Benguela, and access is very difficult for people who live in Calombotão. There is an exam and the competition from people who are better prepared is intense. Young people in Calombotão told me that there were other "costy" ways to get into the Institute, but I could not confirm that. In any case, what happens is that parents who have family in Dombe Grande or in Cubal, in the interior of the province, send their children to study in the education institutes that have recently opened there. There is less competition in those places from people with more capital (social, cultural, economic).

after only a basic education, entrance into pre-university studies and professional institutes becomes more difficult. With low qualifications, formal jobs – already rare – seem like an impossible objective. So, for many of them, only *negócios* seem a viable possibility. A young man in the market of Calombotão was telling me that even access to the army is no longer an option. During the war, no one wanted to go to the army, but in times of peace it seems a stable institution, providing soldiers with all the benefits of a permanent job (a reliable salary, a pension, social networks, and so on), with possibilities for training, in addition. Competition to be accepted into the army has therefore greatly increased.

The relationship between permanent jobs and greater material security seems obvious. The urge to seek material security, to ensure ways of countering material uncertainty are in my view fundamental dimensions of the importance attributed to a permanent job. Data from my survey and other studies on the labour market in Angola show that households where at least one member has a permanent job are better off than households living only on the activities of the informal market (see in particular, Rodrigues, 2005). Remember that it was in households whose head had a permanent waged job that furniture and appliances were more frequent. This point was proposed directly by a group of young people I met in a small shop in Calombotão. Talking about people of the *bairro* who had an organised house, they said, "These are usually people with a job". So, a permanent job, with its regular wage, encourages feelings of material security (as opposed to the feeling of uncertainty that *negócios* may bring), which in turn encourages, among other things, investment in the house, in furniture and appliances and in gradually building the appearances of an organised life with all the symbolic benefits such a life implies. In her study on The Park, in the Western Cape, Ross (n.d.) also draws attention to the difference between "decent" and "seasonal" work. Contrary to seasonal work, "decent" work allowed for a proper and reliable wage for more than a few months and for material security. "Decent work" was not like "just working for food" (ibid.) which did not allow for purchasing the accoutrements of *ordenlik* (respectability).

It is in the possibility of providing material security and the foundations of an organised life that a very good *negócio* can be compared to a permanent job. Quim wished for that: a permanent job or else a good business. As I mention above, João Fortunato told me admiringly the story of his cousin who had gone to Lunda Provinces and been able to buy the material accoutrements of an organised life. People who were said "to have gone to the Lundas" were believed to make fortunes either through diamond trafficking[167] or by trading

[167] Lunda Provinces are in a region where diamond mines are situated.

between the coast (where imported goods arrive) and the Lundas. Since getting to the Lundas was difficult – only accessible, in fact, by airplane – the prices of goods were high and so were the possibilities to make gigantic profits trading there. As João Fortunato told me, by trading a diversity of goods with the Lundas, his cousin "had advanced. When he came back, he was able to buy a house, furniture, a car … everything".

It is in the relationship to material security and the basics of an organised life that the scale suggested above by Boaventura can be understood – a job, a *negócio* and a good *negócio* or mini-job. As quoted previously, Boaventura said that *only* a permanent waged job deserves to be associated with the verb "to work". If you have a *negócio,* this activity cannot be associated with "working". However, a very good *negócio* may (almost) be considered a job. It may be called a mini-job (and not a *full* job) because it will not always provide the other, symbolic benefits of a permanent job. However, a good *negócio,* like a permanent job, can mean earning as much as (or sometimes even more than) a permanent waged job, that is, an income that will enable the acquisition of the material foundations of an organised life – the proper life. This *negócio* will be perceived as a mini-job. A small *negócio* on its own, however, does not allow for the material security that may lead to an organised life; it is an activity that, by itself, will only assure survival, getting by, and therefore not a proper life. Although I spoke about permanent jobs mostly with men, since women, as mentioned above, have lower access to the formal job market, my conversations with many women about their lives and activities gave me the impression that they have the same perception of the value of permanent jobs and *negócios*.

All the same, a good *negócio* is also quite difficult to come by these days. So, for ensuring material security, a permanent job still constitutes the best bet. Even Zézé, the son of João Fortunato, who, to his father's great sadness had dropped out of school and was doing various businesses – selling cell phones, trading in currency – was now pondering the appeal of a permanent job.

The symbolic power of a permanent job: A proper job to have a proper life

In her PhD thesis on the labour market and household strategies in Luanda, Rodrigues (2005) describes in rich detail several material benefits of a permanent job, some of which I confirm above. In addition to the material benefits of a "salaried activity", Rodrigues says, this type of activity is highly valued socially – a factor she describes as the "social valorisation of salaried work". She explains how "salaried work" contributes to increasing the individual's social status and prestige within his/her family and community and how it works as a basis

for differentiation. My own fieldwork in Benguela demonstrates that the symbolic power of a permanent job is an essential aspect of the attachment to such jobs. According to Rodrigues (2005: 84), salaried work constitutes a central factor *per se* in the attribution of a stronger or a weaker association with urban and modern practices and values. According to her analysis, salaried work contributes to increasing social status and social differentiation that are both linked to a stronger association with modernity and urbanity (p.177).

As I explain in Chapter 1, I prefer not to use the terms "urbanity" and "modernity" as my informants did not use these terms in describing their lives and situations. However, I would argue that salaried work is an important factor in the construction of associations with the life of the *cidade* and to a life of *avanço.* My work establishes a strong relationship between a permanent waged job and what people perceive as ways of life of the *cidade*. A waged job is seen as the type of activity that residents of the *cidade* do for a living, whereas *negócios* are perceived as the economic activity of the *bairro*. In order to explain why Bairro Benfica was almost a *cidade*, João Fortunato said, "Most of people who live in Bairro Benfica leave their homes in the morning to go to their [waged] jobs. Here no, you will see that most people are doing their *negócio* or making *capuka* [for sale]." Confirming that view, young Boaventura explained, "In the *bairro,* young people do not have [waged] jobs; that is why they support themselves through *negócios*". A permanent job therefore means feeling closer to the ways of life of the *cidade*. In addition, as most permanent jobs are located in the *cidade*, they allow one to meet people from the *cidade* and to penetrate the life of the *cidade* in other ways. As Quim had, others I met in Calombotão saw in a permanent job, especially in the formal labour market, the possibility for meeting "people who can help"; In other words, the opportunity to expand social capital. A permanent job permits one to access valuable social networks beyond the *bairro*, social networks of the *cidade* in particular. It enables one to meet "valuable" people who can be called upon in case of need and who can also provide access to wider social networks, who (as in Manuela's case) will help one to find a job, will provide shelter for periods of time, or will lend one small amounts of money to meet urgent needs.

More broadly, a permanent job is seen as a significant element in moving one's life forward, in the direction of *avanço*, of material and ontological development. First of all, similarly to an organised house, a permanent job signifies a life "out of material misery", a life lived with "a certain degree of ease". A permanent job means, for example, that one is not forced to buy food for only that day, as people selling in the market must. In addition, a waged job can provide the means to acquire the material basis for a life associated with development (material development and *avanço)* – the accoutrements of an organised house, children's

education, appropriate clothing and so on. As the group of young men I met in the shop told me, if you have a permanent job, you can have a house, proper furniture and a colour TV set. Through having access to social networks that count, a waged job also provides the opportunity to meet others who live good lives and, thus, contact with ways of doing things that can contribute towards advancement and ontological development. Hossi, an old man who worked for a large factory until the 1990s and was now retired, regretted that he was no longer working. Of a permanent job he said, "One meets and talks with other people and can learn new things and one is able to move forward. In retirement, one stops and remains in the same place." And the things one can learn are the things that matter; as Abel and Adão described it in Chapter 3, the information that allows one to be *actualizado*. Through social networks and socially valued things that one can learn, as Manuela's experience demonstrates, permanent jobs can also provide for "vital conjunctures", conjunctures that can lead to ontological development and to social change.

The value of the association with *avanço* and ontological development contributes to the difference between a permanent waged job and a good *negócio*. While, as described above, a good *negócio* can bring financial benefits that allow one to acquire the basics of an organised life, its symbolic associations with *cidade* and *avanço* are more tenuous. This is one of the reasons why, even if the waged job is not very well paid, people prefer to keep it and to diversify their informal activities to supplement their income. So the financial benefits of a good *negócio* need to be really significant for a good *negócio* to be considered as a full and worthy replacement for or alternative to a permanent job.

Conclusion: material property and 'developed persons'

As Quim and others have said, an organised house and a permanent job are fundamental elements of an organised life, indicative of a life that has moved forward.[168] Like a house in order, a permanent job contributes to "an organised life", adding another brick to the construction of a proper life. I argue that people strive for an organised life because it provides for material security, that is, for material development, but also because an organised life allows for strong associations with the life of the *cidade* and a life of *avanço*, that is, of ontological development. It is based on its strong associations with *cidade*, development and *avanço*, and the important symbolic power these aspects have in Angolan society, that an organised life represents life *as* it should be lived, a proper life (de Certeau,

[168] Other aspects such as education, neighbourhood relationships, and participation in local church life also contribute to constituting propriety. But the basis of material life and associations with the *cidade*, development and advancement are more fundamental and reinforce the weight of other social aspects.

1990). Even if life in rural areas could be considered to be good, it would never be perceived as a life of *avanço*.

In addition, as Ross (n.d.) points out, material propriety counts in making proper persons. So, this chapter also argues that by seeking to build an organised life, people are also striving to construct themselves as developed persons; as people who are advancing. João Fortunato is an example of such a person, a "developed person". With his house already in *construção definitiva* with beautiful furniture, with his higher studies and job as a teacher, João was identified by other residents as an example of a developed person. The next chapter shows how João Fortunato strove to become a man of the *cidade*; a developed person.

Chapter 6: Ambitions of Cidade and Paths Towards Avanço

This chapter tells the life story of João Fortunato and the history of his family. Like his father, João had "ambitions of *cidade*". The Fortunatos' story highlights the roles played by religious missions, education and migration in the pursuit of projects of "becoming better", which, as I argue, are framed by imaginings of the *cidade* and of *avanço*.

The life trajectory of João Fortunato complements the life story of Manuela, which was described in Chapter 4. Manuela and João offer two different examples of connections between "individuals and events" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 26). Their stories describe two specific and distinct cases of colonial encounter, of interaction between individuals and institutions belonging, to different degrees, to the colonial endeavour and to African society; but these two examples of life trajectories also provide an historical illustration of life in post-colonial Angola, marked by war and war-displacement to coastal urban areas.

The stories of these families show two distinct but paradigmatic mechanisms of upward social mobility within the region, both during and after the Angolan colonial period: while the story of João's family highlights the role of education and of migration to the *cidade* in upward social mobility and *avanço*, Manuela's family's story shows the role of inter-racial relations, and social and family connections in accessing a better life, in *avançar*. Both stories are also marked by the context of post-colonial Angola - by the wars, by the political instability and the strong social and economic turmoil which the country experienced since independence and the considerable displacement and migration which these events provoked. These stories also show how imaginings of the *cidade*, of "ambitions of the *cidade*", have in Angola underlined projects of becoming better, projects of proper lives.

I argue that dreams of "becoming better" in Angola, ideals of "proper lives", have been linked to imaginings of becoming "of the *cidade*". As Chapter 2 and this chapter show, during much of the colonial era this was done through *assimilação* and the status of *civilizado* and *assimilado,* which in practice were linked to adopting what I call *avançado* ways of behaving and doing things that were also perceived as "ways of the *cidade*". As I demonstrate in this chapter, the relationship in postcolonial Angola between ideals of better / proper lives and being of the *cidade* was emphasised by the war, by forced war-displacement to urban areas and by the near impossibility of rural social and economic life. I argue for a certain continuity of this relationship between ideals of "proper lives" and imaginings of "being of the *cidade*". In my view, although the "empirical content" of these categories and of the relationship that

links them may have changed slightly over time, they have continued to operate throughout Angolan society (Sahlins, 1985).

Finally, Manuela and João's personal trajectories show, on the one hand, how history, symbolic order and structural factors such as gender and race weigh on possibilities for action, and, on the other hand, highlight the role of agency and of conjunctures (Bourdieu, 1980, Johnson-Hanks, 2002), demonstrating how these can introduce new elements that make certain kinds of change possible. Based on Bourdieu and Johnson-Hanks' arguments, I suggest in this thesis the idea of "transformative conjunctures", that is, of conjunctures providing the potential for change that can be "transformative". I argue that the concept of "transformative conjunctures" may be an important notion through which to make sense of life stories and individual trajectories, not only those of Manuela and João but of war-displaced people in general; that is, of people whose lives have been submitted to profound social crisis and abrupt contextual changes.

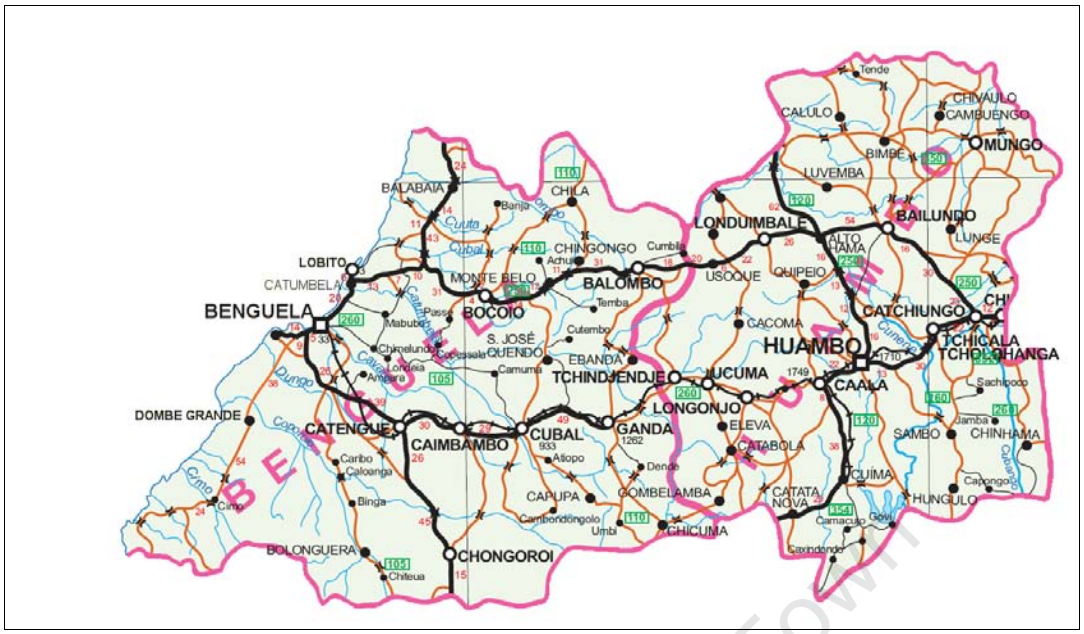
As I indicate in Chapter 1, the description of these two life stories is made through placing these accounts against the broader background of Angolan history, and through showing how the stories of these two families exist "in history" and relate to history. These two life stories are not merely descriptions of interesting life paths; as I show, they represent wider common social trends.

Protestant missions, *cidade* and education to become a proper person

Within the margins of "Comelica"

António Fortunato, João Fortunato's father, was born in 1941 in the village of Handanga in Ukuma, Huambo Province, some two hundred kilometres east of Benguela City, in the Angolan central highlands in Ovimbundu territory. His family was related to the local chieftaincy.

Map 8: Provinces of Huambo and Benguela



Antonio Fortunato first left Ukuma as a child, travelling to Lobito with his mother's sister, Luisa, who cared for him after his mother's death. Luisa, whom Antonio called mother (*tate*) following the conventions of Ovimbundu kinship,[169] had been educated in the Elende Evangelical Mission, some twelve kilometres from Handanga. She was one of the few people of their village to have studied and to have completed primary school, a major achievement at that time.[170] According to João Fortunato, Luisa was a strong woman with a promising future.[171]

The first Protestant missions were established in the Angolan central highlands in 1880. The Congregationalist missions[172] were numerically by far the most important in this region and wielded the most significant social and political influence (Péclard, 1998a). The Elende Evangelical Mission Station was founded in 1908 in Ukuma by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) which, with the Canadian Congregational Foreign Missionary Society (CCFMS), established a strong network of evangelical stations,

[169] The Ovimbundu have a system of double descent. Every *Ocimbundu* (individual belonging to the Ovimbundu group) belongs to two different kin groups: the *oluse*, his/her father's family and the *oluina*, his/her mother's family. While land is owned by the *oluse* and passed on within this group, moveable property (including cattle) is owned by the *oluina* (see Childs, 1949 and McCullogh, 1952 for more details).

[170] As Chapter 2 shows, access to education during the colonial period was particularly restricted, in particular before 1961 and in rural areas where only religious missions offered the possibility of schooling.

[171] João Fortunato recalls that when Luisa's father (João Fortunato's great-grandfather) was sent to prison by the colonial authorities, she went to talk directly with the Colonial Administrator to obtain his release. João says she dared to do so because she was already someone educated and had completed primary school, which at the time was one of the criteria for achieving *assimilado* status and therefore for becoming a Portuguese citizen.

[172] In Calombotão today, one can find many members of the congregationalist church who came from the highlands.

sub-stations and posts in the Angolan highlands. Like the Elende Evangelical Mission Station, most congregational mission centres were located in the zone of influence of the Benguela Railway, in the most densely populated areas of the Angolan central highlands (ibid.)

Neto (1996) and Péclard (1995, 1998a and 1999) show how religious missions, the Protestant one in particular, provoked profound social and cultural changes in the Angolan central highlands, particularly in the formation of local elites. Like Comaroff & Comaroff (1991 and 1997), these authors emphasize the fact that missions were not only centres from which a religious message was disseminated; in their discursive and practical action these missions penetrated social, economic, political and cultural life as well. By virtue of their numbers and of their relatively long history in the central highlands, congregational missions played an especially significant role (Péclard, 1998a and 1999). This is clear in the story of Fortunato's family.

Congregational missions were very popular in the central highlands. They were locally called "Comelica", a local adaptation of the word "America".[173] Their influence was such that, as Péclard (1998a) notes, during the census of 1960, many of the congregation members of the Protestant Mission of Dondi would answer "I am American" when asked their religion.

Most Protestant missions were established in rural areas far from urban centres and at a distance from Portuguese colonial society (Péclard, 1998a and 1999). Their isolation from colonial centres was a deliberate choice: the missionaries desired to distance themselves both geographically and politically from the Portuguese colonial authorities, with whom their relationship was often tense.[174] Their isolation was also the result of an idealised vision of rural life and a specific project of social and cultural transformation that required rupture with what missionaries perceived as the corrupting influence of colonial society. The deliberate choice of the remote rural world for the location of Protestant missions was, further, based on the missionaries' wish to locate themselves and their work far from urban areas, which they perceived as morally lost and as providing a hostile environment to their project of creating new Christian minds and subjects (Péclard, 1998a). As a result, "the gravity centre of [the

[173] Personal information from one of my informants, whose parents belonged to the congregational mission in the central highlands.

[174] The relationship between Protestant missions and the Portuguese colonial authorities was often extremely difficult. The latter tended to see Protestant missions as potential representatives of foreign powers plotting against the Portuguese colonial presence and project in Angola. In addition, Protestant missions had a very different view of the "civilization project" to be followed in Africa. They profoundly disagreed with *assimilação* and were most reluctant to follow the project of *portugalização* imposed by the Portuguese authorities (see Chapter 2 and Péclard, 1998b).

Protestant] mission remained the *mato*" (ibid: 364). This constituted a major difference from the Catholic Church, which, in contrast to Protestant churches, established itself in urban areas. In addition to missions in the rural areas, the Catholic Church had in urban areas both "parishes", attended mostly by the colonial and *assimilado* population, and "catholic missions", working with mostly *indigena* population. However, even if these were differently organised, the presence of the Catholic Church in both urban and rural areas favoured a greater circulation of people and ideas between the rural and urban settings, as compared to elites formed under the influence of the isolated and rural Protestant missions (ibid.). As Péclard notes, the presence of the Catholic Church in urban areas facilitated the establishment of an Angolan Catholic elite in urban areas and might also have eased their upward social mobility there.

In addition to being strongly anchored in ideals of rurality, Protestant missionary work in the Angolan highlands, according to its ideologues,[175] was to be rooted in the cultural context within which it worked, that is, on "Ovimbundu tradition". Clearly, not all dimensions of Ovimbundu culture were considered "good" and there was a certain degree of reinvention of "Ovimbundu tradition". Nevertheless, Protestant missions did not oppose Ovimbundu culture to social, political and religious modernity (ibid: 373). This constituted a fundamental distinction with the Portuguese colonial system which, as described in Chapter 2, favoured the policy of *portugalização* and linked upward social mobility to *assimilação* and to the "Portuguese way of being in the world" (see Chapter 2). Péclard (1998a: 374) argues that, through their strong foundation in isolated rural areas, and by promoting Ovimbundu culture, albeit reinvented,[176] Protestant missions contributed to reinforcing the separation between rural and urban areas that the Portuguese colonial policy and the differentiated *civilizado* and *indigenas* legal status had encouraged (see also Messiant, 1983).

As Péclard (ibid.) asks, could we talk about "rural protestant elites" and "urban catholic elites"? The debate on the role of religious missions on the formation of Angolan elites relates also to the discussion on the origin of Angolan nationalism and on the causes of civil war. Could the territorialisation of religious missions and their differentiated relationship to the colonial power have encouraged ethnic divisions, the divisions in the nationalistic movements and, as a result, the war in Angola?

[175] Péclard (1998a) cites in particular Childs (1949) and Henderson (1990).
[176] Messiant (1983: 543) referring to Henderson (1979: 152) points out that "whatever the extent of Protestant (Congregationalist) efforts [in Ovimbundu territory] to integrate religious organisation to village organisation, the church structure in reality replaced [Ovimbundu] traditional structure" (my translation).

The Angolan civil war has sometimes been explained by the country's ethnic divisions (see for example Pelissier (1978) and Marcum (1969 and 1978). This view has been critiqued by both Messiant (1994 and 1995) and Péclard (1998a) who point to the much more complex social, political, economic and cultural processes at the origin of the divisions in the "liberation movements" and the war in Angola. In her analysis of the nationalistic movements and the war in Angola, Messiant (1994) refers to the competition between Angolan elites for access to political power; elites that were culturally and socially different, as they were the result of quite distinct social and cultural historical processes. In her analysis of the formation of Angolan elites, the author points to the role of the colonial statutory divisions, between *assimilados* and *indigenas*, the unequal spatial influence of the Portuguese colonial power, the differentiated impact of the diverse religious missions and also to the cultural and political influence of neighbouring countries such as the Congo on, in particular, the population of the north of Angola.

Simplistic views of Angola's society and of its post-colonial civil wars have also linked the antagonism between the two political parties at war after independence (MPLA and UNITA) to historical rural-urban divisions in the country: MPLA would defend and be supported by an "urban, Angola". UNITA would constitute the voice of "rural Angola". This is a vast subject, deserving further research and which is outside the project of this thesis. However, as Messiant (1994) describes, while the origin of MPLA can be traced to a group of urban old *assimilados*[177] and the composition of UNITA's leadership was strongly influenced by protestant (Congregationalist) religious mission, the history of these two movements and of their political and social affiliations was more complex and also changing through time. In addition, as this text also tries to show, while certain social and cultural colonial dynamics (such as colonial statutory divisions, the religious missions) encouraged greater rural-urban divisions, other phenomena, such as migration both before and after Independence also had a strong impact on rural-urban circulation and interaction. In addition, as shown below, individuals followed specific strategies which tended to bring urban and rural areas into closer relationship with one another. So while, the origin of Angolan elites can be located

[177] In her analysis of Angolan society, Messiant (1983 and 1994) makes the distinction between old and new *assimilados*. According to the author, old *assimilados* constitute the culturally and/or racially mixed group that was formed in the XVIII and XIX centuries and which had lost its political, social and economic power with the consolidation of the colonial system (see Chapter 2); the group of new *assimilados* was mostly formed during the XX century, in particular after the World War II, and was composed by individuals who had accessed formal education mostly through religious missions and through education had become waged workers. In general, one can say that old *assimilados* constitutes an old urban elite who had been in close contact with the colonial society – who had in reality been part of the colonial society – while new *assimilados* come originally from rural areas. However, anthropological research on how these elites have evolved needs to be done to understand whether one can currently refer to "rural elites" and "urban elites". I would assume, with Péclard (1998a), that the reality of Angolan society is much more complex than this simple dichotomy.

distinctively in urban and in rural modes, the way in which they (and the individuals who composed them) evolved may have encouraged bridging rural and urban spaces.

As Péclard argues and as I demonstrate in this chapter, Protestant missions were also working in a specific political, social and economic context. Despite their desire to escape the "pernicious" influence of colonial society and of towns and to have free range to create a new world, they were interacting with the colonial system, and the individuals they were striving to transform were exposed to wider social, economic, political and cultural dynamics at play beyond the boundaries of the religious missions. As a result, these people's decisions and choices in relation to their future did not always follow the missionaries' expectations. João Fortunato's family stories show in many ways that although congregational missions played a fundamental role in the formation of personhood of several of João's family members, the latter's choices in life were also fundamentally influenced by their perceptions of the world outside the missions and by the opportunities to make their lives better, to "advance". In particular, they were exposed to the dynamics of Portuguese colonial society which presented assimilation as one of the few possibilities for upward social mobility, although, as we have seen, the actual possibilities of achieving *assimilado* legal status were small. João told me that when his grandmother Luisa and one of his grandfathers, who had studied in the Congregational Mission of Dondi,[178] returned to Handanga, they used to bring together the children of the village in the evenings to pass on to them some of the teachings of the missions. One of the things they did was to give these children Portuguese names, which they would use during these evening sessions and then in life in general. João explained that this was because they knew Portuguese names allow these young people to rise more easily in colonial society. Messiant (1983: 544) notes the strong desire for social promotion shown by the Ovimbundu and their great capacity, especially at the end of the rubber trade, to adapt to the new social and economic conditions. So, although Protestant missionaries refused *assimilação* and were reluctant to abide by the obligation of speaking Portuguese within the missions' territory, their converts would still adopt those aspects of *assimilação* – such as having a Portuguese name – which they judged convenient and appropriate to their projects of upward social mobility.

The arrival of the railway in the highlands in 1910, and later the economic growth of the 1950s and 1960s, provided many job opportunities and possibilities for social promotion outside the missions' boundaries, particularly in towns (Péclard, 1998a and Chapter 2). After World War II, towns such as Huambo and Lobito grew rapidly. Although Benguela grew more

[178] The Mission of Dondi was also located in Huambo Province and housed the headquarters of the Congregationalist Church in Angola. It also included a secondary school and a school for girl's education.

slowly, its fisheries created many jobs for migrants from the highlands. Smaller towns along the railway, such as Cubal and Ganda, also developed quickly, driven by increasing commercial agriculture.

As a result, although Protestant missionaries wished to build a new, rural Kingdom of God, economic and social impetus to leave the missions' territory was strong – especially in the highlands where, as we will see, increasing pressure over land and resources made a livelihood from farming almost impossible for many families. So, even if it is true that the deliberate isolation of Protestant missions encouraged separation with urban areas, and even if Protestant missionaries preferred converts to remain in their rural Protestant heavens, increasing migration in the region encouraged the circulation of people and ideas between urban and rural spaces. Neto (2003: 4) draws attention to this circulation of information and ideas between rural and urban spaces, made possible by social networks of family members, friends, labour migrants, church members and particular professional groups such as nurses, school teachers and railway workers. The story of Fortunato's family illustrates one dimension of interaction between the rural universe of the Protestant missions and the outside urban world, and the particular role women may have played in that exchange.

Women of the missions: Raised to become proper wives

Although the missionary project sought to remake African societies, as Péclard (1999) shows, this societal transformation was based on the individual, who became the target of evangelisation campaigns.[179] Religious missions' efforts to create a new type of person in the central highlands involved attempts at transforming the rhythms and details of individuals' daily life, in what can be described as a "revolution of habits" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997: 8). This entailed a range of aspects of everyday life: "from housing to school education, from body hygiene to agricultural production, from clothing to spirituality and to sexuality, among others" (Péclard, 1999: 114, my translation). Here, particular emphasis was put on re-ordering the domestic space and on "the making of decent dwellings" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997: 278). Péclard, following Comaroff and Comaroff (1997), notes the Protestant missionaries' focus on changes of and within the house, as the house was perceived as an extension of the family which was the target of transformation. As *Of Revelation and*

[179] Messiant (1983: 536) stresses how, at the beginning of the XX century, Ovimbundu society was going through a turbulent period of major social, political and economic changes resulting from colonial occupation, the end of the rubber trade, the arrival of the railway and increasing migration. These profound changes led to what Messiant (ibid.) describes as "a slow degradation". The fragility of Ovimbundu society may have contributed to the depth of penetration of religious missions and to the extent of their social and cultural influence.

Revolution (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997) points out, the evangelists had already understood that "houses, and the routines they inscribed, constructed their inhabitants" (p.277).

In the reorganisation of domesticity, women played a fundamental part, as they were responsible for "the constitution of a Christian domestic space" (Péclard, 1999: 119, my translation). The missionary message insisted on the need for properness and order within the household and stressed the link between a house divided into several rooms, as on a grid, and the degree of 'civilisation' of their owners (ibid.). I note here the striking similarity of messages in relation to the house and the household between the Protestant missionaries and the colonial administration at the beginning of the century, in particular in the content of the laws on urbanism promulgated by Norton de Matos, which also emphasised hygiene, order and the need for houses with adequate numbers of rooms (see Chapter 2). As we have seen, "an organised house" remains an element of a proper life in the *bairros* of Benguela (see Chapter 5).

In order to encourage the building of proper homes, Protestant missions offered education and specific training for women in "domestic schools" (Péclard, 1999: 119, my translation), which aimed to teach women the appropriate ways of making and looking after proper "Christian homes". Both João's grandmother, Luisa, and his mother, Julia, received training in what João called *formação feminina* (feminine education),[180] that is, training in how to look after their homes and households properly. According to João, it was for these reasons that women educated at Elende Mission Station were much sought after as wives. Luisa apparently even received a proposal of marriage from a male nurse working in the Protestant Mission of Caluquembe, located further south in the province of Huila.[181] As I describe below, one of the reasons João Fortunato's father married Julia, his mother, was because she had been educated at the Elende Congregational Mission.

Luisa chose not to marry the nurse because Caluquembe was too far from her home and family. She later met an *angariador* (labour recruiter) who worked for a Portuguese trader and was passing through Ukuma. She fell in love with him. She also fell pregnant with his child and, as João says, "It was for her the beginning of the end; prospects for her future shrank."[182] Already a mother, she married another man, also from Ukuma, who had migrated

[180] I do not know the specific, formal content of *formação feminina* given by the Protestant missions. However, *formação feminina* was also a course offered in the public secondary education system during Portuguese colonial rule. In addition to the major courses such as Portuguese, Maths and foreign languages, this course offered notions of how to become a good housewife and how to look after a household and a home.
[181] This mission, founded in 1897, belonged to a Swiss Evangelical Missionary Alliance (Péclard, 1998: 362).
[182] According to João Fortunato, she could never really blossom; she could never fulfil her potential.

to Lobito to work for the railway some time before and was living there.[183] According to João, Luisa's future husband was not as educated as she and would not have "deserved" her had she not had a child. What also improved his chances of marrying an educated woman such as Luisa was the fact he was already "a man of the *cidade*" and that he worked for the railway. These factors gave him some social status, and she eventually married him and moved to Lobito, taking with her Antonio Fortunato (her orphaned nephew, who would become João's father), along with the daughter she had already given birth to. They all went to live in one of the *bairros* of Lobito.

It was through his *tate* Luisa's marriage and migration to Lobito that Antonio Fortunato began his journey towards becoming a man of *cidade* himself. He lived in Lobito for a few years and returned to Ukuma when he was a teenager; but he did not stay there for long; he did not want to be "too far away from the *ambiente* of *cidade*", as he put it. He already knew "the ways of the *cidade"* and he did not want to stay far from them. In 1958, he left for Cubal, which was growing due to agricultural development in the region.[184] A brother of Antonio Fortunato's father, who was already working for the railway at that time, helped him get a job as a cook in some houses belonging to the railway. In 1960, at the age of nineteen, he decided to return to Ukuma to get married.

Although he came from Handanga village, he decided to look for a wife from the Elende Mission. As João Fortunato explains it, "Those who had lived in the *cidade*, such as his father who had already lived in Lobito and later in Cubal, looked for women with some education who would be able to respond to the demands of the *cidade*." Antonio Fortunato was explicitly looking for a wife for the *cidade;* someone who would be able to look after a household in the *cidade*; a proper wife. He met Julia, who came from Boliõ, a village in the surroundings of the Elende Mission, and who had studied in the Mission. She had also reached the 3rd class of primary school. They married in the Elende Mission on the 27 September 1961.

Thus, despite the Protestant missions' efforts to separate themselves and the people they wished to transform from the colonial urban centres, both Luisa and Julia, who had been educated in Elende, married men who were not directly members of the communities that Protestant missions were attempting to build and who, in addition, had become men of the *cidade*. Several observations can be made in this respect.

[183] As Chapter 2 describes, after the 1940s Ovimbundu migration to coastal areas and to Lobito in particular was very intense.
[184] See Chapter 4 for more information on Cubal. Manuela's family lived in Caviva which is situated some twenty kilometres away from Cubal and during the war they first fled from Caviva to that town.

First, although Protestant missionaries wished to keep converted communities within the realm of the missions and the new world that missionaries were trying to construct, people did not always respond to the missionaries' expectations and, instead, pursued their own projects of upward social mobilityoutside the missions' boundaries, including in urban areas.[185] Second, even if congregational missions had conflicting relationships with the Portuguese colonial authorities and although Protestant missionaries disagreed with the colonial administration's policy of *assimilação* and *portugalização* and tried to base their religious project on Ovimbundu "tradition", their ideal of "modern religious communities" did in fact resonate with some dimensions of *assimilação*, in particular with the requirement of transforming routines of everyday life; both Protestant missions and the colonial administration sought to make people move away from their "tribal habits" in the details of their everyday life – modes of dress, ways of organising a house and household routines, caring for families, and so on. So, although missionaries dreamed of building new Christian rural communities away from the colonial society and from urban areas in particular, in their "civilising" and transformation efforts they provided some of the knowledge and the skills necessary to strive for upward social mobilitywithin colonial society and to build proper lives in the urban colonial centres. As Protestant missions existed in a wider social and political colonial environment that presented *assimilação* as a necessary path for social upward mobility, it is possible (and the story of Fortunato's family tends to point in that direction) that some congregation members used what they had learned in the missions to pursue their own projects of *avançar* outside the missions. Third, although the cases of Luisa and Julia provide limited material for generalisations, these cases invite a few hypotheses about mission-educated women. While in the case of Luisa this is not definite, in the case of Julia, Antonio Fortunato certainly married her precisely because she had been educated at the mission and could meet the needs of a household in the *cidade*. So, Protestant missions may have provided women with the knowledge and the skills to look after homes of *cidade*: where the husband was a salaried worker, where houses conformed to urban schema, and where the husband would eat his meal at a table. Thus, through their *formação feminina* teachings, Protestant missions may have offered women the possibility of marrying men of the *cidade*, particularly migrant workers and especially those working on the railway, positions that gave men higher social status. Thus women educated in the missions may have also contributed to spreading the notion and the practice of "decent Protestant dwellings" which, as noted above, were similar in many ways to some social and cultural dimensions of *assimilação* and ideas of *avanço*. In addition, by marrying migrants and spreading such knowledge and skills,

[185] As Péclard (1998a: 373) says, quoting Mbembe (1988), Protestant pupils were more "un-docile" than the missionaries imagined.

these women may have contributed to increasing exchanges between rural territories of religious missions and urban colonial centres and to reducing the rural–urban separation to which some authors refer (Messiant 1983 and Péclard, 1998a).

Antonio Fortunato's return to the cidade

Antonio Fortunato married Julia in 1962. They returned to Cubal and his job with the railways, a decision made in part because of Antonio Fortunato's desire to return to the *cidade*, but also in response to economic difficulties experienced in the central highlands during that period. As Julia recalled, "Life in Ukuma was very difficult at that time. Many people did not have land; or did not have money to buy cattle. They were not able to earn the cash they needed to pay the colonial tax. So they had to leave to look for work."

In his articles on the transformation of Ovimbundu societies during the XX century, Pössinger (1973 and 1986) shows that after the end of the caravan trade Ovimbundu increased agricultural production.[186] However, agricultural development based on weak technological inputs, in a region with relatively high population density and increasing colonial pressure on land, led to overuse of land, soil degradation, decreasing output and an impoverished and increasingly proletarianised Ovimbundu population. This swelled the waves of Ovimbundu migrants after the 1940s, as people left in great numbers for coastal towns such as Benguela and Lobito and other regions of the country to seek work. Many were subjected to various "forced labour" schemes, as the central highlands was a region of intense labour recruitment through the *contrato* (see Chapter 2). The economy of the provinces of Huambo and Bengela was also booming, with railway traffic, the activities of Lobito harbour, increased industrialisation in Benguela and Lobito and the extensive plantations of sisal, coffee and cotton farms in the regions of Ganda and Cubal which required large inputs of cheap labour. As Antonio said, "People from the highlands knew that if they wanted to work they could go to these places and they would immediately find a job."

These were not the only reasons Antonio went back to Cubal: he also wanted to return to the *cidade*. As he told me, people who went to the *cidade* "opened their eyes"; whereas "people who stayed in the *kimbo,*[187] fishing and cultivating, would not be able to advance". In order to demonstrate his point, he described the difference between his life and that of one of his

[186] I thank Maria da Conceição Neto for drawing my attention to the fact that agricultural production was already an important dimension of Ovimbundu economic life during the rubber trade. However, the end of the rubber trade increased agricultural production for the market and in particular introduced Ovimbundu men to an activity in which only women had been involved previously.

[187] The word *kimbo* is a Portuguese adaptation of the Umbundu word *ymbo*, which means "small village". *Kimbo* usually refers to a small rural village.

brothers, who is currently living in Cubal, having arrived as a war-displaced person. While Antonio migrated first to Lobito and then to Cubal, his brother remained in Handanga until he had to leave because of the war. Today, they live in the same *bairro* in Cubal, but while Antonio worked for the railway in the past and then in 2005 became a civil servant working for the municipality of Cubal, jobs which gave him status, his brother, as Antonio Fortunato said, "only brews local drinks" to make a living. Their lives have been and remain very different.

One of the major differences between Antonio's and his brother's lives lies in their children and their accomplishments. As João Fortunato says, while in Cubal Antonio was able to send his children to school, his brother who stayed in Ukuma had not done so. Antonio and his wife were aware of the importance of education; Julia had completed the 3rd class at the mission and, studying in Lobito, Antonio had done the same.[188] The couple did whatever they could to send all their children to school. As Julia said, "We knew that if we put our children in school and they studied, tomorrow they would become *pessoas* (persons) (…) their life would be good." Indeed, the title of one of Péclard's articles on religious missions on the Angolan central highlands and on the formation of the colonial subject is "*Amanhã para ser homem*" ("Tomorrow to become a man"). He quotes parents from the Angolan central highlands who sent their children to mission schools "so that they become men" (Péclard, 1999: 114, my translation). The author says that the "the missionary path" was perceived as "a sign and an assurance of human dignity" (ibid, my translation). As I argue above, the missionary path provided the capacity – formal education, skills and knowledge – to pursue projects of upward social mobilitywithin colonial society beyond the missions. In addition, until 1961, under the *Indigenato* (see Chapter 2), the missionary path and the formal education it offered allowed people to aspire to the legal status of *assimilado*, and therefore to "full personhood" as the colonial authorities and, increasingly, ordinary people saw it.

As Julia stated, even if primary education was better than nothing, they knew that if their children had only primary school education, they would not get very far – they could only aim, as she said, "at being *contínuos*".[189] As many religious missions offered only primary education, and secondary education necessitated registration and other school fees, many families invested in the education of only one of their children. The whole family would work to contribute to send this child to school. As Julia recalled, girls would work in the fields to

[188] Primary school in the Portuguese education system of that time ended with the 4th class and a national exam. Antonio Fortunato only finished primary school after Angolan Independence.
[189] *Contínuos* were auxiliary employees in public administration offices, usually responsible for minor tasks such as cleaning, making and serving drinks and going on errands.

make *fuba*[190] for this child's food and *fuba* to sell so that there would be money to send the child to school.

João is the eldest of Antonio and Julia's eight children. All of them – five girls and three boys – went to school. For those growing up before independence, such as João Fortunato who was born in 1963, it was much more difficult to go to school, as compared with the situation after independence when education became free. After 1961 and the end of *Indigenato,* opportunities for education improved, at least at primary level, but not at secondary level in Cubal. João Fortunato completed primary school at the Catholic Mission of Cubal, which only provided primary education. Like many others of his age, he could only continue his education after independence.

As a result of Antonio and Julia's investment in their children's education, all of them, with the exception of the youngest child who is still trying to enter university, are presently employed in permanent, waged jobs. As we have seen, this is considered a major achievement and an indicator of social success. As Chapter 5 showed, a job in the civil service is one of the foremost ambitions of many Calombotão residents. A career as a teacher is particularly sought after. With the exception of the second child, who works in a private company in Luanda, and of the youngest child who has just finished high school, all of João Fortunato's siblings work as school teachers. João himself now teaches at the university, while the others teach in primary schools in Benguela and in Cubal.

Since coming to Cubal in 1962, Antonio has made a life in that town. He never returned to live in Ukuma, except for a brief period during the war in the 1990s (to which I return below). He worked for the railway until 1974 when he was retrenched, after the introduction of electric trains made the jobs of those working with coal engines redundant. In 1976, after independence, he started working for the municipality as a gardener. He was still doing this when I met him at the end of 2005, when he was about to retire. Antonio Fortunato has some land where he cultivates grains and vegetables to eat and sell. When he has money, he hires labourers to work on his land.

He has lived with his wife in one of the *bairros* of Cubal since the 1960s. He does not consider returning to Ukuma. As he says, he wants to die in Cubal. He has lived in Cubal for most of his life (forty-seven years) and is known and respected there, whereas no one knows him in Ukuma now. As he puts it, younger people do not even know who he is, whereas, if

[190] Maize flour.

anything bad happens to him in Cubal, people know him and will help him. And life has proved him right. The only time he returned to Ukuma was during the war in 1993, when Cubal was for many months the site of violent conflict between the government army and UNITA soldiers, and he wished to find a refuge for his cattle. The journey was disastrous, as his nine cattle were stolen, apparently by soldiers. From the aggrieved tone with which both Antonio and João tell the story, it seems that Antonio Fortunato felt that his family in Ukuma did not protect him or his cattle and he has no wish to return there. He wishes to stay in the *cidade*. The *cidade* – although another type of *cidade* – will also be his son's project.

João Fortunato's ambitions, projects and opportunities

Moving to the cidade

João Fortunato, Antonio Fortunato's eldest child, was born in Cubal in 1963. He has lived in Calombotão since 1998 with his wife and children. He met his wife, Teresa, in Cubal when they were young children and used to play together. She also came from Ukuma and had moved to Cubal in 1974 with her family. João and Teresa married in 1983.

The first time João left Cubal for Benguela was in 1976. He stayed in Benguela until 1978. He had completed primary school in the Catholic Mission of Cubal but at that time his father was unemployed, having lost his job with the Railway, and João's uncle offered to support his schooling. This uncle had migrated to Benguela at that time to look for a job; trained as a nurse, he had opened a small health post in Bairro Fronteira.

João returned to Cubal in 1978 when his uncle left Benguela to join the Adventist Mission of Bongo in Huambo. In Cubal, where his father was already employed by the municipality, João completed the "basic education level", that is, he finished the 8th class,[191] the highest level of education possible in Cubal at that time. He left Cubal in 1981 when he was employed by the Ministry of Education to work as a primary school master in very small towns in Benguela Province. He worked first in a school in Balombo for a year and then, between 1982 and 1986, in Caimbambo (see Map 8). By 1986 the war in the interior of Benguela had intensified and he decided to quit his job as a primary school teacher and return to Cubal. There, he was employed as an accountant in a small local flour mill. He

[191] As previously indicated, the "basic education" in Angola ends with the 8th class. Basic education is structured in three levels: the first level (what is also called primary education) goes up to the 4th class; the second level ends with the 6th class; and the third level with the 8th class. After basic education pupils pursue their studies either in "middle level education" institutes providing professional education during four years, or they enter pre-university schools which prepare them for three years to enter higher education. The Angolan education is currently going through a reform and this system is likely to change in the near future.

worked as an accountant until 1991, after the Bicesse Peace Agreement, when he decided to leave Cubal and move to Benguela.

As João said, to me, "I had ambitions of the *cidade.*" Like his father before him, João wanted to move to the *cidade*. However, while for his father Cubal was enough of a *cidade*, João saw Cubal as almost rural. As he explained to me, in Cubal he could not even get his driving license as there were no driving schools in that town and very few cars. As he said, in Cubal people walked most of the time to go everywhere; there were no buses, no collective taxis and very few motorbikes. João Fortunato wanted wider opportunities to improve his life; and Cubal did not offer many. In addition, João wanted to continue his studies so that he could teach again and this was not possible in Cubal at the time. Hence his decision to move to Benguela with his family and all their belongings, in order, as he says, to establish himself in the *cidade*.

Cubal: from being a **cidade** *to becoming the interior*

For João Fortunato, Cubal in the early 1990s had become rural, almost *mato*. Many people I worked with in Calombotão felt similarly about Cubal; that it was not (or no longer) a *cidade*. It was described as belonging to "the interior". In people's discourses, "the interior" is opposed to "the *litoral*" (the coast), which is the space where urbanised areas continue to be perceived as *cidades,* offering opportunities, access to education, and access to technology; places where development happens; places that open the road to *avanço*.

Until 1991, Cubal had not been directly affected by the war,[192] but its social and economic life had been strongly affected by the guerrilla war that was taking place in the countryside in Huambo and Benguela Provinces. As described in Chapter 4 through Manuela's life, guerrilla attacks in the interior of Benguela Province started in 1978 with ambushes on roads and attacks to villages. These attacks continued throughout the 1980s and only ended with the Bicesse Peace Agreement in 1991. The war paralysed the rural economy – villages were attacked; land could not be cultivated; when produced, crops could not be traded as the network of rural shops was abandoned; the train also stopped functioning; roads became unsafe and travelling was only possible on long convoys protected by the Army and even these were sometimes attacked. As a result, transport of people and goods across Benguela and Huambo provinces became very difficult. As indicated in previous chapters, the violence in the countryside and the collapse of the rural economy led to thousands of war-displaced

[192] Cubal had been affected by the war in 1975-76, when Angola was invaded by the South African Defence Force. However, at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, attacks took place in its surrounding rural areas (see Chapter 4 for more details).

people fleeing towards small towns such as Cubal and later to coastal cities, such as Benguela.

As a result of the war and of insecurity in the rural areas, the economies of towns such as Cubal, based on the agricultural activity of big *fazendas* situated in its surroundings and on railway traffic, crumbled. In 2005, when I visited Cubal, big warehouses where produce from the big *fazendas* of the region had been stored were crumbling away next to the railway station, representing the buzzing economic activity that was no more. In addition, after the exodus of most people of Portuguese origin in 1975, the escalation of the armed conflict and the collapse of local economy had also led to many educated individuals abandoning small towns of the hinterland to establish themselves in the coastal towns which were safer and where social and economic life was more dynamic. So, many services and economic activities stopped functioning. Telecommunications became difficult and eventually stopped as telephone infrastructure was destroyed during the war. In 2005 there were still no telephones and only expensive satellite calls were possible. Public TV services which started in Luanda after independence and reached Benguela City in 1978 did not reach Cubal. High school education was not possible.

The difficulties in communications through road, railway and telephone with the coastal cities – with Benguela, the administrative capital of the province, and with Lobito where the harbour was located - led to increasing social, economic and political isolation of these small hinterland towns. They were for long periods almost disconnected from the major centres of governance of the country and from its main economic and social trends. The isolation of Cubal – and of small hinterland towns in general – would be further aggravated with the war that started in 1992 after the elections and which only ended in 2002. Cubal was very badly hit and was even bombed in 1993.

So, although hinterland towns such as Cubal had maintained areas of grid-like spatial organisation, which is pointed by residents of Calombotão as a characteristic of urbanised places as described in Chapter 3, and though this town also showed many houses in *construção defintiva* in its "urbanised areas", for people like João Fortunato, Cubal had ceased to be a *cidade*: it did not offer the opportunities for "material" and "ontological" development, of *avanço*.

The long war in Angola had a profound effect on rural-urban relationships. On the one hand it rendered rural social and economic life almost impossible for many years, as rural areas were profoundly affected by almost constant armed conflict and instability. Entire villages

were emptied of their populations, which fled to safer urban areas. On the other hand, as communication between urban areas and rural areas were extremely difficult, circulation of people and flows of products and information between urban centres and rural areas or between coastal towns and hinterland towns were also very difficult. João referred to the difficulties of life in Cubal during the 1980s, when there were several years of drought and almost no transport between the coast and the hinterland. Although Benguela and Cubal were only 150 kilometres away, Cubal was almost disconnected from Benguela during that period. According to João Fortunato, many people died of hunger in Cubal during those years while in Benguela, despite the impact of the war, no one died of hunger. When Manuela's father became very ill in Cubal, for example, the news took some time to reach his family in Benguela as a letter was sent through someone travelling on an Army protected convoy. It was also because of difficulties of communication that Manuela was informed of the death of her father, too late to attend his funeral.

So, as a result of the long war, small hinterland towns such as Cubal became disconnected from the coastal cities where "things" happened and even more disconnected from the outside world. These places had until very recently lost much of what people perceive as being the characteristics of a *cidade*. They did not offer access to material development – no services, no jobs – little possibilities of *avanço* and no connection to places where development and *avanço* was possible.

***João Fortunato's life in the cidade: moving up towards* avanço**

João Fortunato arrived in Benguela in 1991. He was 32 years old and had only completed basic level education - the 8th class. When he arrived in Benguela he began to work as a civil servant, employed by the Ministry of Education as a school master in a primary school in Calombotão. He had hoped to maintain his fields and cattle in Cubal. They had been given to him by his father and, like Manuela's father, he anticipated that they would contribute to his overall income. However, "everything disappeared with the war" as he said.

Since his arrival in Benguela in 1991, João's life has changed significantly. In addition to working as a school master, he went back to school himself. In 1994 he started pre-university studies and in 1997 he pursued with geography studies at the university in Benguela. After finishing university in 2004, he taught for a few years as a teacher of geography in a pre-university school in Benguela. When I met him in 2005, he was 42 years old, he was still teaching at the pre-university school, but he had also other projects. He dreamed of developing his career in the academic world. He desired to continue studying and wished to

become a university lecturer. However, he wondered whether he could accomplish his projects. He knew that this would be very difficult in Benguela, as the university there was already relatively established and that there were no positions available for him. Luckily, in 2007 he was admitted to teach at a small university centre that had just been opened in Sumbe, the capital of the Province of Kwanza Sul, at the north of Benguela. When we met again at the beginning of 2008, he was commuting to teach in Kwanza Sul, while his family had remained in Benguela. He had also started a Masters degree in Luanda and travelled frequently by bus to that town to work with his colleagues and professors. His family resides in a spacious house in *construção definitiva* in Calombotão.

When he arrived in Benguela in 1991 he stayed in Bairro Calohombo at his father's brother's house, where he rented an *anexo*. He already knew his uncle from Cubal, where they had been quite close. But he paid rent since. As he explained to me, "Having come to remain in Benguela, my situation was not that of a visitor". His uncle was also from Ukuma and had lived in Benguela between 1980 and 1985 where he had been employed as a stone-mason for the Ministry of Education. However, as the income he obtained at the time as a stone-mason for the state was not sufficient, he decided to move to Cubal where his brothers lived. He hoped to make a better living from agriculture again. However, in 1989 there was a very intense drought in the interior of Benguela Province, which, as described above, was already gravely affected by the war. Life conditions in Cubal became even more difficult and he decided to move to Benguela once more.

João stayed in his uncle's house for almost four years. After that period, he rented a house in Bairro Casseque, where he lived for three or four years. He moved to Calombotão in 1998. He wanted to build a big house with "an open space with some trees so that he could sit outside". He wanted a spacious house which would allow him to receive family members, especially for ceremonies such as funerals and weddings. Such land was available in Calombotão, which was in its early stages.

João is today a very well known and greatly respected person in Calombotão. People talk about him with admiration as someone who has accomplished uncommon achievements for the *bairro*. They talked admiringly about the fact that he was teaching at the pre-university school, and about his big house and his new furniture. He is one of the few residents of Calombotão who has obtained a university degree. He is described as an example of a "developed person". João and some of his friends were members a Community Group of Calombotão which carries out small social projects in the *bairro*. Working with these kinds of projects allowed João to penetrate other spaces of Benguela society. He participated in

training courses on administration and organisational skills; he travelled to other provinces and entered in contact with other similar organisations. Through this type of activities João has also entered in contact with international development organisations and institutions and with other local NGOs such as ADRA, which are themselves also connected to wider social and organisational networks. Working within the "development constellation"[193] allowed also João to participate in meetings in Benguela with local government authorities and representatives of businesses in Benguela and, as João says, people of "other circles". As the example of João Fortunato and his friends show, the activities of these associations allow these persons to penetrate social spaces and social networks from which they would otherwise be normally excluded. Like formal jobs, these associations which are funded by development organisations and which are involved in social and economic activities in the *bairros* allow for the members of these associations to reach out to more powerful social, economic and political social milieux and to gain in social and cultural capital.

João was very aware that his life had changed importantly since he had arrived in Benguela in 1991. That was what he had wished. As he used to say to me he had "projects". He wanted "to move up" (*subir*). He wanted to advance. As described in Chapter 5, like many other residents of *bairros* he had multiple sources of income – although as he had said to me in 2005 he relied more and more on his salary - but he did not only wish only for material security. He also wanted to move upwards in society. He wanted to reach "other circles". For this, he had relied on education – trying to reach as a higher level as possible – on his permanent job as a civil servant, as a university lecturer with the social and symbolic dividends explained in Chapter 5, as well as on his activities as a leader of a local association which allowed him to increase his social and cultural capital.

João has now become a man of the *cidade*. Perhaps this is why he no longer works his fields in Cubal. Agricultural work is perceived as a rural activity and not an appropriate activity for the *cidade*. Agricultural work, subsistence farming in particular is perceived as *atrasado*, not the kind of work that a "developed person" should perform. It is of course true that he does not need agricultural work now for his income, that Cubal is relatively far away, and that agricultural activity in Benguela is more difficult. That is one of the differences between himself and others who aspire to *avanço*. Ismael, Manuela's cousin, for example, is also pursuing projects of *avanço*, but draws upon material resources from several types of activities to nourish his project. As you may recall from Chapter 5, Ismael is a nurse in the Army and has several other sources of income in addition. He has a small *lanchonete* in a

[193] I owe this expression to my previous training in "development studies" during which this expression was often used.

room which he built next to his house; he has agricultural fields around Cubal, where he hires people to cultivate for him, and a lot of cattle. João has not taken this route. When I visited his parents in Cubal, I asked Antonio if he was expecting João to return to Cubal and help him on his fields. He looked at me in pure puzzlement as though I had said something totally absurd, completely inconceivable and said: "No, that is impossible. He has reached a very high level now. He has gone to the university, finished university…. That would be impossible".

Like Manuela, João is advancing. Manuela wanted to move out of the *bairro* and she did so. João Fortunato had ambitions of the *cidade* and he is pursuing them. Manuela and João Fortunato's life trajectories offer two different paths of upward social mobility. In the next section I will compare their history and their path which in ways illuminate different aspects of the history of the region and will explore possibilities of change.

Manuela and João Fortunato: two trajectories towards the *cidade* and *avanço*

Although Manuela and João Fortunato were born in the same region, their life stories are quite distinct. They are the product of relatively diverse social, economic and cultural conditions and they are marked by different structural characteristics (age, gender, race for example). They were, as a result, diversely affected by the history of the region. However, both Manuela and João Fortunato pursued projects of going to the *cidade*. As I indicated and will try to show, Manuela and João offer two paradigmatic life histories of becoming better, of becoming a proper person, of *avançar* in a context where better and propriety have been set for an important part of the population by imaginings of "becoming of the cidade".

By grounding the explanation of Manuela and João's choices and strategies on history and on social, economic and cultural structures which have underpinned their life, I argue for the importance of social conditioning, for the role of history and structures in shaping individuals' behaviour, perceptions, reactions and choices. With Bourdieu (1979 and 1980), I hold that habitus, this internal structure which has been structured by external structures throughout the time, is at the origin of dispositions and importantly shapes ways of perceiving, interacting with and being in the world.

However, both Manuela and João Fortunato present also a history of change; change across time and across geographical space, change across social space, change in social behaviour, change in aspirations and expectations. Looking at both Manuela and João Fortunato's life trajectories and paths of upward social mobility will also allow me to discuss

the possibility of change within Bourdieu's theoretical framework which has often been critiqued for being too deterministic, placing too much weight on the role of structures on shaping social agents' behaviour and for not granting enough attention to the role of individuals' agency, (de Certeau, 1990; Ortner, 2005).

João and Manuela: Highlighting Paths towards Avanço

Although João Fortunato was born in Cubal, both he and Manuela come from a rural background. Their grandfathers were both farmers. But while João Fortunato's grand-father was an Ovimbundu farmer in Ukuma who was related to the chiefly line of the village, Manuela's grand-father was a *mestiço* man who had settled and made his life in the rural outskirts of Cubal. He was the direct product and a figure of the colonial encounter in the region. He was the son of a Portuguese man who had married a *Ma-Hanha* woman, and the brother-in-law of a Portuguese trader who, like so many others, had settled in the hinterland of Benguela. Manuela's grand-father seemed to have arrived in Cubal region through his work as a *capataz* on construction sites in the area (see Chapter 4); like his father, and as was common to many *mestiços* of the hinterland, he married a woman of the region. Manuela's grand-father seems to have arrived in the region in the 1940s and could have had access to some land and settled in the area.

However, while Manuela's father continued living as a farmer like his own father, João's father followed a different path - a path common to many other Ovimbundu - he migrated, he went to the *cidade*, and he worked for the Railway. First, he went to Lobito with his aunt and later by himself he left Ukuma again to work for the Railway in Cubal. Why did João's father choose to migrate to Cubal and Manuela's father, who lived so close to Cubal, chose to continue being a farmer in rural Caviva?

Manuela's father lived under quite stable conditions which were mainly granted by the social position and assets of his father. He had a piece of land, which had been given to him by his father, where he lived with his family. He was also able to buy some cattle. His father might have had in the past the legal status of *assimilado* – he was a *mestiço*, he had some school education, he had lived with his sister who had been married to a Portuguese man, and he had worked as a *capataz* for the colonial administration. João's father was submitted to much more unstable social and economic conditions: he came from the central highlands where pressure over land was very high and where access to land was difficult (see Chapter 2 and above). The age difference between the two men, which will also be reflected on the age difference between Manuela and João Fortunato, may also have placed them in a different

social, economic and cultural position, as in 1961 when the *Indigenato* ended Manuela's father was still a child. Until 1961 João's father was still subject to the legal status of *indígena* and he was probably submitted to the instability and difficulties of that status and the impossibility of obtaining the legal status of *assimilado*. Like for many Ovimbundu of the central highlands, the only possibility for him to access work, to build a better life, to *avançar*, was through education, to which he had little access, and through migration in a region which was also at that time experiencing strong economic growth and offered many job opportunities. In addition, he had already lived in the *cidade* when he was a child and, as he said, "he knew already the ways of the *cidade*".

At Independence in 1975, these two families lived not too far from each other, but under quite different conditions. Manuela's family lived in Caviva, a rural settlement; they lived mostly off their land, although Manuela's father worked also as a tailor; João's family lived in a *bairro* of Cubal and lived mostly off his father's job at the Railway, although they also had small fields where they grew some crops mostly for the family's own consumption. In 1975, João was twelve years old and had still grown up under the colonial administration in a small town. He had completed primary school in the Catholic Mission of Cubal. Manuela was a baby and lived in rural Caviva.

Although they did not live many kilometres apart, the fact that one lived in a rural settlement and the other in a small town would weigh on their lives very profoundly. Three years after independence Manuela's family home was already violently affected by the war and a few years later they had to choose war-displacement. Until the beginning of the 1990s, João's family was never submitted to war-displacement. They continued living in Cubal, and although João's father had to leave the Railway he was able to access a job as a gardener for the Municipality and continued to be a waged worker. He had always been a waged worker; he was at that time a civil servant and enjoyed the prestige of that position in the *bairro*. Manuela's family lived in Cubal for two years when they first left Caviva as war-displaced people and were not able to settle there – her father was never able to find a job. They lived off their rural assets while they could and eventually had to leave again for Benguela.

So, Manuela was at the beginning of the 1980s forcedly displaced by war out of Caviva to Cubal and on towards Benguela with her family, while João Fortunato could remain, could grow up and work in rural towns of the interior of Benguela Province. João Fortunato's journey to Benguela in the 1990s is the result of his "ambition of *cidade*"; of his drive to *avançar* which had also been his father's; and also of the fact that Cubal, with the

intensification of the conflict in the region, the destruction of infrastructure and the crumbling of the rural economy lost more and more of its qualities as *cidade*. His strategies for making his life *avançar* were similar to his parents': education and through a good job. João Fortunato's comes from a family and from a historical background where education had always been seen as the path to *avanço* – education allowed for access to better jobs, led to social recognition and in the past it was indispensable to legally access *assimilação;* as his mother had said, education allowed one "to become a *pessoa*". His grand-mother's mission education allowed her to become the wife of a Railway worker and of a man of the *cidade*, although she had already a child; his mother's education also allowed her to become the wife of a Railway worker and of a man who wanted to become a man of the *cidade*. It is therefore understandable that João Fortunato has taken the path of education to move forward. He strived for finishing his studies moving gradually up through the different levels of education up to higher education.

In addition, for his family like for many other Angolans, a good permanent job is a fundamental ingredient of a life of *avanço*. Such jobs offer economic and material stability, social capital and prestige. His father had been a Railway worker and afterwards he worked for the local Municipality. He had fields where he cultivated crops, he had had cattle, but he never renounced to his civil servant job. Since he arrived in Benguela, João Fortunato invested in his professional activities and career. When the salaries were low, he adopted other income-generating activities to ensure his family material security; but he also invested in his career as a teacher reaching little by little higher hierarchical levels. He also entered other activities in the *bairro* which allowed him to reach out to other social circles, expanding his social networks, understanding slowly how these circles worked, picking up what to do and how to behave to continue reaching out, gradually becoming a "developed person".

Manuela also recognised the importance of education and invested more in it than her brothers. But it was not exclusively education which allowed her to leave the *bairro* and move to *cidade* although it certainly played a role. It might have been easier for her to have access to the jobs she had, and to have access to the people she met because she was educated; but her path to *avanço* in many ways followed also patterns which had been activated in the past by other women of her family – through mobilising social and family relationships, through marrying across racial, economic and social formations; through reaching out through other social circles. Recall that her aunt Antonia, who received them when they arrived as war-displaced people in Benguela in 1983, had been taken to *cidade* to be an *afilhada* in the house of a light-skinned cousin of Manuela's mother, who lived in Bairro Fronteira in Benguela. Manuela's stay at her aunt Antonia's house was her first confrontation

to the need for *avançado* behaviour in the *cidade*, to realising that her family and she were perceived as *atrasados* as coming from the *mato*. Her aunt Josefa had been supported by a Portuguese couple where her mother had worked and had been able to go to school and to access a life of *cidade* and of *avanço*. Aunt Josefa had become a teacher and later a business woman, building a big house on the outskirts of Luanda. There, having arrived as well-educated but lacking the knowledge proper to the *cidade* – as Josefa described it, "My niece, you really don't know anything. You are good at school, but for the rest, you know nothing" - Manuela learned how to behave as an *avançado* woman. In the end, although Manuela was brave enough to depart for the *cidade*, to look for a job and a place to make a life in the *cidade*, what allowed her to settle more rapidly and more stably in the *cidade* was first her relationship with Costa, who was an older light-skinned *mestiço*, a business man and a man of the *cidade* and who helped her with becoming a hairdresser; and later her union and later marriage to Luis – who is a white man and a also man of the *cidade*.

Looking at these two cases one can ask: why could João Fortunato rely on education and on developing his professional career to *avançar* and for Manuela education was not enough? There are several possible reasons. First, Manuela moved from *bairro* to *cidade,* whereas, although João invested in his *avanço,* he still lives in the *bairro*. He reached higher education, he developed his career as a school teacher and now as a university lecturer, he made several improvements in his house, he is reaching out to other social circles but he remained in Bairro Calombotão. João worked on building what in Calombotão is referred as "an organised life" – his job and his house (Chapter 5). And he is perceived in the *bairro* as a "developed person", as *avançado*. He did not have to develop other dimensions of comportment that are perceived as necessary *avançado* behaviour for the *cidade* - the ontological dimensions of development to which I refer in Chapter 3. One day João Fortunato told me that some of his neighbours in Calombotão were surprised to come to his house and see that on his table he still had *lombi* and *pirão* for lunch. As he told me, given the job he had, the house he could show, and being perceived as a developed person, people expected him to eat also what is perceived as *avançado* food (potatoes, rice, and so on) – food which *avançado* / developed people are thought to eat and which they can also afford. Manuela moved to the *cidade*. She established herself in the *cidade's* social circles and so had to adopt other forms of comportment - the behaviour of the *cidade*, *avançado* behaviour – in the way she cooks, talks, moves, dresses and looks after her house. Second, Manuela is a woman and João Fortunato is a man. Manuela, as a woman, could more easily follow the route of "marrying up", of establishing stable marital relationships with men of the *cidade*. While for a man following this route is not impossible, it is socially much less acceptable and therefore more difficult to take. While, as I argue in Chapter 4, Manuela journey from *bairro* to

cidade seems to have been grounded on strivings of tactical order, João's efforts seem to have been more strategic (de Certeau, 1990).

Although they have taken different routes on their way to the *cidade* and towards upwards social mobiltiy, Manuela and João Fortunato have both introduced significant change in their lives, although, as I discuss below, within a certain degree of permanence.

Habitus, Conjunctures and the Possibility of Change

As I argue above, following Bourdieu, I partially ground the explanation of Manuela and João Fortunato's life trajectories, their behaviour, their choices and strategies on social conditioning, that is, on the weight of social, political, economic and cultural events and structures which have changed through time. I agree with Bourdieu (1992: 136) that "social agents are the product of history" and that habitus is the result of the work of history on people. However, a question arises as to the extent to which habitus explains the social trajectories of these two individuals. One of the major criticisms offered to Bourdieu's theory of practice and particularly to the concept of habitus refers to the determinism and rigidity this notion seems to introduce since individuals' possibilities seem to be utterly shaped by external events which they can hardly control and by external events of a past that they cannot reach. In many of his works privileging the study of social reproduction, Bourdieu (1980) draws attention to the role of habitus on the constancy of practice:

> [habitus] ensures the active presence of past experiences which, placed over each organism under the form of perception, thinking and action schemes, tends to guarantee, more effectively than all formal rules and explicit norms, the conformity of practices and their constancy through time. [p. 91, my translation]

The stories of both Manuela and João Fortunato speak nevertheless also about change. Despite the context of colonialism and war, both Manuela and João actively sought change. For example, Manuela decided to move from *bairro* to *cidade* in 1993, after she came back from Luanda and from her stay with Aunt Josefa; João Fortunato decided to follow his "ambitions of *cidade"* and moved to Benguela in 1991.

In Volume One of *L'invention du Quotidien*, De Certeau (1990) offers a strong critique of habitus, particularly its shaping by external structures. A second set of critiques offered to Bourdieu's work is related to the little degree of control social agents seem to have over their practice since it is governed by internal dispositions whose logic and modes of functioning they cannot understand nor control. One can ask whether Manuela transformed her life or

whether her life was transformed by her habitus. In other words, to what extent did Manuela have control over the changes in her life? The question raises further questions related to rationality, subjectivity and agency and to their relationship with habitus. De Certeau second critique of Bourdieu's theory of practice relates to the apparent impossibility of actors consciously controlling their destiny since their tactics and tricks seem to be locked behind internalised dispositions over which they have little control. Ortner's (2005) approach to practice posits that actors

> "have some degree of reflexivity about themselves and their desires, and … have some 'penetration' into the ways in which they are formed by their circumstances" (Ortner, 2005: 34).

In his theory of practice, Bourdieu argues that in order to explain social practice we need to look at "the objective structure defining the social conditions which produced the habitus" and the "social conditions within which the habitus operates", that is, the conjuncture, which, as Bourdieu says, "unless there is radical transformation" represents a particular state of the former structure (Bourdieu, 1977: 263, my translation). De Certeau (1990) points out precisely that for Bourdieu the only possibility for social change seems to come from external structures – that is, from the conjuncture:

> According to this analysis, structures may change and become a principle for social mobility (it is even the only possible). Not what has been incorporated [habitus]. [Habitus] has not a movement of its own. It is the place where structures have been inscribed, the marble where their history has been engraved. (…) (De Certeau, 1990: 92, my translation)

However, in some of his works, Bourdieu explains how an (already) structured and structuring disposition such as habitus can also accommodate change. In Bourdieu (1977) the author describes the process of chronological formation of habitus which makes it a "series of chronologically ordered structures" (p.284), affected and transformed by life experiences of each individual, and which are therefore not fixed forever. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), Bourdieu returns to the issue of whether or not habitus allows for "agency, innovation and change". Saying that habitus is "durable but not eternal" Bourdieu explains how habitus may change through life:[194]

[194] However, in the same text, Bourdieu draws attention to certain limits that may hang over possibilities for and the degree of change in the habitus: on the one hand, the possibilities individuals have to encounter social conditions (conjunctures) that will be very different from those that have originally produced their habitus; on the other, the strength of primary life experiences: "There is a probability, inscribed in the social destiny associated with definite social conditions, that experiences will confirm *habitus*, because most people are statistically bound to encounter circumstances that tend to agree with those that originally fashioned their habitus. (…) there is a r*elative irreversibility* to this process [of change in habitus]: all the external stimuli and conditioning experiences are, at every moment, perceived through categories already constructed by prior experiences. From that follows an inevitable priority of originary experiences and consequently a *relative closure* of the system of dispositions that constitute *habitus*." (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133)

> "Being a product of history, it [habitus] is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133)

If we say that "habitus is a socialised subjectivity" (Bourdieu, 1992: 126), this internal structure allows for a certain degree of permanence and certain degree of change. Bourdieu's concept of habitus does not prevent reflexivity, agency and the fact that social actors may be strategic and "partially knowing" (Giddens, 1979; Ortner 2005) in relation to the overall motivations and reasons behind their actions. I would however agree with Bourdieu to say that under the urgency and immediacy of action, most social actors do not have access to full logic behind the categories of perception and appreciation through which they interact with the world and which are largely determined by the social and economic conditions of their constitution (Bourdieu, 1992). For example, Manuela, like all the others with whom I worked in Colombotão, was able to evaluate the differences between life in *cidade* and life in the *bairro.* She could feel the social discrimination and could understand the social inequality underlying that difference; the material implications and the social advantages of living in *cidade;* and she was able to draw up a strategy to move to *cidade*. But she could not fully grasp the profound logic of these categories, the historical path through which they were constituted and the eventually arbitrary social order they established. So, in changing, she still used these same categories of perception and appreciation to read the world and to establish the modes of improving her life.

However both Manuela and João still changed and "moved up". Although Manuela was born in Caviva and lived as a small child the life of a rural girl, when she came to Benguela she was submitted to several situations – the sojourn of the family at Aunt Antonia's, her schooling, her work in the church - that enforced in her the differences between *atrasado* and *avançado* and between *bairro* and *cidade*. However, her sojourn with Aunt Josefa provided her with skills that changed her relationship with these categories. After living with her aunt she did not feel as much *atrasada* and she was able to move to *cidade*. Her dispositions had changed. When he came to Benguela, João Fortunato's ambitions of *cidade* were epitomised by his desire to have his driving license. However, his studies, in particular his passage through university, his life in Bairro Calombotão with the work with the small neighbourhood association, the people he met in Calombotão and in other social circles of Benguela, made him change his ambitions. He wanted more, he dared more. He wanted to go to university; he wanted to become a university lecturer. He learned new things, his desires changed. He changed.

So, returning to de Certeau's critique, conjunctures may be a "principal of mobility" not only because they provide external possibilities for change, but also, because they may introduce changes to "what has been previously incorporated" – that is habitus. That is why, when considering Manuela's and João's stories, the concept of "conjuncture" seems to be so important. In reality, I argue that in a country which has been submitted for the last century to profound changes, several wars and various and important political, social and economic transformations, while the knowledge of history and major "macro-processes" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 38), which might have imposed particular patterns on individuals' lives and overall cultural categories of perception and appreciation, is important, attention to conjunctures may render more comprehensible the life trajectory and changes experienced by particular individuals. Specific conjunctures resonate with individuals' personal trajectories and habitus; they are the terrain of "micro-practices" (ibid.) and of agency which can only be understood through relating "macro-processes" (of the past and of the present) with life histories, that is, the "micro-events" on individuals' trajectories. Or, as suggested by Bourdieu (1980: 94), through relating the "two states of the social world", - the social conditions of the past under which habitus was produced and the specific social conditions of the present under which habitus is operating. In a country going through major social, political and economic change, specific conjunctures may be experienced as moments of great instability; but they may also provide open paths to social change.

Johnson-Hanks (2002) describes the concept of vital conjuncture which constitutes these "experiential knots during which potential futures are under debate and up for grabs" (p.872). In Manuela's case, she experienced a vital conjuncture when she returned from Luanda in 1993 and decided to move to the cidade (see Chapter 4). However, the sojourn with her aunt Josefa allowed her to confront her vital conjuncture in a transformative manner. At her aunt Josefa's she learned "new things", these "ontologically more developed ways of living" that allowed her to "grab a new future". So, if, when she returned to Benguela she went through a "vital conjuncture" in a transformative way, we may consider her sojourn with her aunt as a "transformative conjuncture" – as a conjuncture offering relatively new social conditions that transformed her habitus, preparing her to the possibility to transform her life later.

As I suggested in Chapter 4 although new conjunctures contain potential for change, they can lead to transformation or not, depending on the way individuals go through them; that is, some conjunctures are transformative, others are not. Recall the comparison between Manuela and her brother Quim, which sought to highlight differences in social conditions having shaped their lives which may explain differences in the conjunctures offered to each of them and in the way they navigated these conjunctures. If we look at the case of João and

at when he migrated to Benguela and had ambitions of *cidade* that migration provided for a new conjuncture, a "vital conjuncture". However, while it is true that when he came to Benguela João was submitted to a new conjuncture, in reality, it is through entering university and through working with the local association in Calombotão that his life changed more significantly. It is through these activities that João is led to meeting new people, to learning new things, as he says, to "reaching new [social] circles", to desiring to continue his studies even further and to expand his "projects".

Vital conjunctures do not "speak" to everyone in the same way and they do not always lead to transformation. The way in which conjunctures and individual's lives will interact depends on both the characteristics of the conjuncture and on the individual's position (habitus, different forms of capital, structural factors such gender, race, age, etc) from which results his/her capacity and agency. From the cases of Manuela and João, I would argue that the capacity for navigating a vital conjuncture successfully - leading to transformation and to "grabbing the future" - seems also to be linked to moments of encounters and learning. Upward social mobility seems to require that legitimate knowledge and skills – knowledge and skills that are considered valid and are valued in a specific society – be acquired.

Attention to conjunctures, vital conjunctures and transformative conjunctures may be important to make sense of life stories and individual trajectories not only of Manuela and João Fortunato but of war-displaced people in general, that is, of people whose lives have been submitted to profound social crisis and abrupt contextual changes. A wide range of Angolans, both war-displaced and those less affected by the immediacies of the war but submitted in any case to the overall instability which the country experienced until 2002, were many times forcibly, submitted to numerous, and sometimes radical, conjunctural changes. To understand life trajectories better and to explain what happens in vital conjunctures requires working with individual life stories; tracing conjunctural changes, vital conjunctures and transformative ones; paying attention to history and being able to link micro-practices, micro-events and macro-processes.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis has explored processes of social change and upward social mobility as a result of the rural–urban migration provoked by the long years of war in post-colonial Angola. Rural war-displacement to cities differs in many ways from other types of rural–urban migration processes – such as those encouraged by industrialisation in Angola (Amado, Cruz and Hakkert, 1992; Messiant, 1989) and in other countries of southern Africa (see for example Gluckman, 1961; Mitchell, 1962 and 1969; Murray, 1981) – and its impact on rural–urban relationships is also different.

Most residents of the *bairros* I surveyed in Benguela had been displaced by war. Moving to Benguela had not been their choice. In many processes of rural–urban migration, migrants maintain diverse forms of close social, cultural and economic relationship with their rural homes: they transfer money; visit each other; keep their fields cultivated at the rural homes; leave their cattle attended by family members; and circulate news, stories, food and various commodities between rural and urban areas. However, in the context of a long and violent war, this relationship withers away or is non-existent. In the case of Angola, most war-displaced people were not able to visit their rural homes for many years, nor were they able to draw upon rural or rurally generated resources. Given the brutality and duration of conflict, rural life was devastated in many areas of the hinterland of Angola; the rural economy collapsed, large areas were land-mined, villages were abandoned and schools and health posts were destroyed. As I have shown, in Angola, becoming "better" and having "a proper life", a life of *avanço*, has for historical reasons been equated with being "of the *cidade*". Even if life in rural areas could be considered to be good, and even if a return to rural areas could after the war be perceived by some people as a possibility of escape from hardship in towns, life in rural areas would never be perceived as a life of *avanço*. However, the long wars had transformed the *cidade* into the *only* place where a safe life was possible. As a result, the material and symbolic importance of the *cidade* deepened during the period of war.

I have shown that the process of establishing selves and families in urban areas as a result of war-displacement is marked not only by the violence of the conflict, by social crisis and by material struggles and that, when establishing themselves in town, rural war-displaced people are confronted not only with material challenges; they have also to engage with social and historical constructions of rural–urban relationships and of the urban space, constructions which will frame their choices, decisions and actions. In short, my informants are not only "war-displaced people" but are also individuals with a history and in history;

individuals whose life trajectories were marked by macro-processes of Angolan history and by micro-events of their past, all of which imposed their imprint on these individuals' opportunities, choices and strategies for action, including in situations of war-displacement and of migration to urban areas.

The dissertation examined how residents of *bairros* of Benguela, most of them war-displaced, construct the reality that surrounds them and how these constructs frame their practice. Inspired by Bourdieu (1979, 1980), I have argued that rural–urban relationships and perceptions of the urban space and of its social life are permeated by "classificatory schemes", by socially and historically constructed cultural categories of perception and appreciation that agents use to make sense of the outside world. These categories have been embodied and filter the way in which people perceive and order the outside world and, as I have shown, shape social practice. I therefore argue for the importance of history and of social conditioning, and for the significance of historically shaped cultural categories, the symbolic order they construct and the effect they have on practice. In this regard, it is significant that the categories of "*cidade* and *bairro*", "*avanço* and *atraso*", and "developed and non-developed" often emerged in people's accounts of their war-displacement journeys and in their narratives about urban areas.

The dual categories of *cidade* and *bairro* are often used to describe urban space in Angola. Following de Certeau (1990), I showed that classification of the urban space in this way structures Angolan urban areas into a "place" – the "urbanised place", the ordered space, the site of the "proper town"; and a "space" – or the "sub-urbanised space", the (un)ordered, the "improper". While the application of the categories *cidade* and *bairro* to urban space has a relationship to material characteristics of what I called "the urbanised place", other historical, social, cultural and economic factors also play an important role in the use of these categories. As a result, spatial classification as *cidade* or *bairro* may sometimes be relatively independent of those material characteristics. It is clear that the classificatory use of *cidade* and *bairro* has strong symbolic and structuring power: where *cidade* has positive symbolic power, *bairro* casts a veil of lesser value over the objects and practices with which it is associated. *Cidade* is associated with order, beauty, cleanness, properness. *Bairro* by contrast is associated with disorder, dirtiness (Douglas, 1966), improperness.

Cidade is also associated with development and *bairro* with non-development. As I argued, the association between *cidade* and development does not refer only to "material development" – to greater access to good roads, piped water, to electricity and to permanent waged jobs – but is also associated with *avanço*, with what, inspired by Bourdieu (1979), I

call "ontological development". The notion of *avanço* and of ontological development implies a "superior condition" of being and behaving. The symbolic power associated with *cidade* leads to perceptions that the social life associated with the *cidade* is of a higher status. It is as though there could be "ways of living" (what one does for a living, what one wears, the food one eats, how one moves) which, because they are perceived as being the "ways of the *cidade*", are also perceived as being superior. So, there is a doxic dimension (Bourdieu, 1979) associated with the labels of *cidade* and *bairro*. Being associated with the *cidade* allows for being better, more beautiful *per se*. It is through this doxic dimension that the life of the *cidade* is held to be the proper life, the form of life that has value and is valued. It is also through this doxic dimension that being associated with the *cidade* – the proper place – and being able to live proper lives – lives of *avanço* – allows for making proper persons.

People in Benguela's *bairros* pursue projects of material *and* ontological development and there is a relationship between the two. As several authors have pointed out (Carsten, 1995; Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995; Yose, 1999; Meintjes, 2000 and 2001; Miller, 2001; Ross, n.d. and 2005), there is a relationship between material objects and the making of proper persons and building proper lives. It is through the associations between objects and practices with *cidade*, *bairro*, *avanço* and *atraso* and through these labels' doxic dimension that objects and practices acquire symbolic power and can contribute to making proper persons and to building proper lives; that is "organised lives". By acquiring material objects and displaying social practices that are associated with *cidade* and *avanço*, people are also making themselves into proper persons who live proper lives. So, improvements to a house, the purchase of a set of sofas, the placing of a fridge in the kitchen, the food one eats, the job one has, all contribute to the building of propriety – of a proper person and of a life lived as it should be lived – a life of an *avançado* person.

Many residents of the *bairros* of Benguela wished to build lives of *avanço,* as I have shown. Reaching for a better life and, in particular, striving for a life of *avanço*, has often signified becoming a person of the *cidade*. Through the life trajectories of Manuela and João, contextualised historically and in the context of the lives of others with whom I worked, this thesis has therefore explored paths towards lives of *avanço*. However, mine is not a determinist argument. I have used the notion of conjunctures to highlight possibilities for mobility and social change. In particular, the notion of vital conjunctures (Johnson-Hanks, 2002), those moments of potential for change during which different futures can be considered, helps us to understand social change in a country which has been subjected to a succession of wars that forced considerable and sometimes abrupt contextual change onto many people. But, as I have demonstrated, the outcome of vital conjunctures does not

always equate to significant change – that is, it is not always the case that "the future has been seized". I propose, therefore, the analytic concept of "transformative conjunctures", those conjunctures which seem (in retrospect) to have led to significant change. Manuela and João's life stories indicate that for a new conjuncture to lead to transformative change and to upward social mobility some form of learning needs to be part of the process. Upward social mobility requires that legitimate knowledge and skills – knowledge and skills that are considered valid and are valued in a specific society – be acquired.

I return now to the core of my investigation; that is, to the reflection around "classificatory schemes". My thesis has explored the contents of and the meanings conveyed by socio-cultural categories such as *bairro*, *cidade*, *avanço*, *atraso.* I would like to discuss two aspects of these types of categories: first, their dichotomous usage; and second, the broad use, the entrenchment and the relative permanence that these categories seem to have enjoyed in Angolan society. I am aware that the categories I have explored offer a dualist and an implicitly evolutionist account of empirical reality; a dualism and an evolutionism which has been pointed out and critiqued by social analysts such as Ferguson (1999). However, as I point out at the beginning of this text, my study has been based on emic descriptions of empirical reality: these are "classificatory categories" that people use to structure reality. I have tried to explore the empirical content and the meanings behind the usage of these classificatory categories; that is, I have tried to uncover and to understand what they mean for my informants, what their content is and how my informants use them, and to examine to what objects, gestures and forms of social practice my informants apply them. This enabled me to understand how these categories guide people's practice; to unveil the logic of their practice – Why do people do things as they do? Why do they aspire to certain futures?

Given that these categories are the result of internalised and embodied historical social relationships, it is understandable that they portray reality as dual and evolutionist. As I have shown, classificatory categories are the product of a history permeated by the colonial confrontation and by the dualist and evolutionist accounts it produced of itself. For example, even if the reality of social relationships at the beginning of the century in Benguela was more complex than the classification of *civilizados* and *indigenas* imposed by the colonial administration suggests, the fact that this classification existed still fundamentally mattered – and continues to. It not only established limits for social and economic opportunities, but it also framed imaginings of that reality and interactions with it. In the same way, even if the material reality of cities in Angola is more complex than the dual pair *bairro* and *cidade* suggests, these categories are still widely entrenched and continue to have a strong

constitutive effect on reality. So, for the reasons described above, it may be difficult to escape from emic accounts of the empirical reality that are dualist and evolutionist.

The categories "*cidade* and *bairro*" and "*avanço* and *atraso*" have enjoyed a certain stability in the Angolan society. They have been in general use for some time. They come up in conversations, in newspapers, in books and in songs and somehow everyone knows what they mean, even if this knowledge is not explicit. In explaining this, I follow Bourdieu and say that the nuances of their meanings are linked to social formations, so the categories' labels may remain constant but their meanings may vary across the society and over time. In addition, the content of these categories may also change. This draws attention to the contingency of conceptual frameworks – the contingency of the content of cultural categories and the contingency of categories on historical processes. As I tried to show throughout this text, these broad classificatory categories cover a wide range of objects and gestures of social practice which can change across society and through time. These objects and gestures of practice can lose or gain symbolic power and as a result function differently as objects and practice of distinction (Bourdieu, 1979, 1980). In addition, as Sahlins (1985) showed, cultural categories reproduce themselves through time and simultaneously change as they are always submitted to new empirical contexts. Although the category *atrasado* has long been used in Angola, the details (objects and gestures of practice) of what makes an *atrasado* person may change across society and through time. The sociocultural classificatory category remained socially valid, but its content has picked up some new empirical content "in action" (ibid.). We structure the world through these sociocultural categories which also organise our practice, which "hang around" in society, which are part of the society's cultural processes. But they are neither rigid nor static. They change, as I explained above, but at the same they remain valid – they have a degree of openness and of closure. As a result, there is a certain dynamism and flexibility in social processes of value construction and of social differentiation. Societies where social macro-processes (such as colonisation and war) have introduced strong conjunctural changes may have allowed for interactions and exchanges of micro-practices (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992) at the individual level which may have favoured "novel empirical contents" to be picked up (Sahlins, 1985). However, as my study has tried to show, these sociocultural categories are still alive and valid - even if, as I showed, individuals may also change through these "transformative conjunctures",

My argument has shown the development of classificatory categories and concepts narrowly linked to specific historical social processes and depending on particular empirical realities. Are we then ever able to produce analytical concepts that can be generalised, that is,

concepts that can be applied to make sense of diverse social, economic empirical realities? I would answer "yes", provided we are able to compare and carefully test concepts on the basis of a specific social empirical reality. The question is how to go from emic dualist and evolutionist accounts of the empirical reality, from these "classificatory categories" that are culturally, historically and socially specific, to analytical categories that are capable of accounting for the complexity of that empirical reality. I have suggested one route by constructing concepts (categories of analysis) that are based on strong empirical and historical studies, which also take into account local emic representations of that empirical reality. The resultant categories of analysis allow for the dialectical relationship between the empirical reality and the representation that people have of that reality – that is, the dialectical relationship that shapes the process of how people perceive, experience and structure the world.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Bom dia (boa tarde…) eu chamo-me _____. e trabalho para a ADRA, uma organização angolana que apoia as comunidades e trabalha na Catumbela, Dombe, Cubal e Ganda. Estou a participar num estudo para Sandra Roque sobre a vida das pessoas aqui nos bairros dos Morros, Esperança e Calumbotão.

Desculpe-me tomar o seu tempo, mas tenho aqui um questionário, com algumas perguntas que gostaria de fazer ao chefe da família. As perguntas são em geral sobre de onde é que as pessoas vieram e como é que vivem. Os nomes das pessoas que vão responder a este questionário não serão conhecidos por pessoas estranhas ao estudo.

ENTREVISTADOR: _____	*SUPERVISOR*: _____

IDENTIFICAÇÃO DA ENTREVISTA *(a preencher pelo supervisor)*		
Nº da entrevista |_____|		**ENTREV** |____|
Bairro [1] Esperança [2] Morro [3] Calumbotão	Sector [1] [2] [3] [4]	**BRO** |____| **SECT** |____|

IDENTIFICAÇÃO DA PESSOA ENTREVISTADA	
O entrevistado é o chefe de família? *[ANOTE SEM PERGUNTAR E PASSE PARA O BLOCO INDICADO]* [1] Sim (*PASSE PARA O BLOCO I*) [2] Não (*PASSE PARA O BLOCO II*)	**CONT1**|____|
BLOCO I: A PESSOA ENTREVISTADA É O CHEFE DE FAMÍLIA	
I.1. Sexo do chefe de família *[APONTAR SEM PERGUNTAR]* [1] Masculino [2] Feminino	**GEN1** |____|
Vou começar por lhe fazer algumas perguntas sobre si e a sua família	
I.2. Para podermos depois continuar o estudo, precisamos de conhecer o nome do chefe de família de cada casa. Pode dizer-me como se chama o senhor(a)? _____	**CHEFAM1** |____|
I. 3. Por que é que o senhor(a) diz que é o chefe de família desta casa? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO]* [1] Porque é o responsável por toda a família [2] Porque é o pai dos filhos [3] Porque é a mãe dos filhos	**CHEFAM2** |____|

[4] Porque é a pessoa que tem máxima autoridade em casa [5] Porque é a pessoa que sustenta a família [6] Outra (*anote por favor*) _____	**IDADE1** |___|
I. 4. Que idade tem? _____ anos	**ESC1** |___|
I.5. Em Angola, algumas pessoas tiveram oportunidade de estudar, outras não. O senhor(a) andou na escola? [1] Sim [2] Não *(PASSE PARA o BLOCO III*)	
SE SIM, até que classe estudou? [1] Andou na escola, mas não completou o 1º nível [2] Ensino de base 1º Nível [3] Ensino de base 2º Nível [4] Ensino de base 3º Nível [5] Curso Médio ou PUNIV / Pré-Universitário [6] Ensino Superior [7] Outro *(anote por favor)* _____ (i) PASSE PARA O BLOCO III	**EDUCONT1** |__|
BLOCO II: A PESSOA ENTREVISTADA NÃO É O CHEFE DE FAMÍLIA	
Vou começar por lhe fazer algumas perguntas sobre si e esta família II.1 Qual a sua relação com o chefe de família? [1] Marido / Mulher do chefe de família [2] Um outro adulto da família (*idade > a 20 anos)* (grau de parentesco_____)	**CONT2** |___|
II.2. Que idade tem? _____ anos	**IDADE2** |___|
II.3. Em Angola, algumas pessoas tiveram oportunidade de estudar, outras não. O senhor(a) andou na escola? [1] Sim [2] Não *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO II.4)*	**ESC2** |___|
SE SIM, até que classe estudou? [1] Andou na escola, mas não completou o 1º nível [2] Ensino de base 1º Nível [3] Ensino de base 2º Nível [4] Ensino de base 3º Nível [5] Curso Médio ou PUNIV / Pré-universitário [6] Ensino Superior [7] Outro *(anote por favor)* _____	**EDUCONT2** |__|
II.4. Aqui no bairro, nalgumas famílias o chefe é um homem, noutras o chefe é uma mulher. Aqui nesta casa, o chefe da família é um homem ou uma mulher?	**GEN1** |___|

[1] Homem
[2] Mulher

II.5. Para podermos depois continuar o estudo, precisamos de conhecer o nome do chefe de família de cada casa. Pode dizer-me como se chama o chefe desta família?

CHEFAM1 |____|
CHEFAM2 |____|

_____

II. 6. Por que é que diz que essa pessoa é o chefe de família desta casa? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO]*

[1] Porque é o responsável por toda a família
[2] Porque é o pai dos filhos
[3] Porque é a mãe dos filhos
[4] Porque é a pessoa que tem máxima autoridade em casa
[5] Porque é a pessoa que sustenta a família
[6] Outra (*anote por favor*) _____

IDADE1 |____|

II.7. Que idade tem o chefe desta família? _____ anos
[99] Não sabe

ESC1 |____|

II.8.O chefe desta família andou na escola?

[1] Sim
[2] Não *(PASSE PARA o BLOCO III))*
[99] Não sei (PASSE *PARA o BLOCO III)*

EDUCONT1 |__|

SE SIM, até que classe estudou ele (ela)?

[1] Andou na escola, mas não completou o 1º nível
[2] Ensino de base 1º Nível
[3] Ensino de base 2º Nível
[4] Ensino de base 3º Nível
[5] Curso Médio ou PUNIV / Pré-Universitário
[6] Ensino Superior
[7] Outro *(anote por favor)* _____
[99] Não sabe

BLOCO III: ORIGEM E MIGRAÇÃO

III1. **Hoje vivem na Cidade de Benguela pessoas que nasceram aqui e que sempre viveram aqui; mas também há muitas pessoas que vieram de outros lugares**. O senhor nasceu e viveu toda a sua vida aqui na Cidade de Benguela?

HABENG |____|

[1] Sim (*PASSE PARA O BLOCO V)*
[2] Não

III.2. Diga por favor o nome do sítio e da província onde nasceu.

NATUR |_____|

Nome da Localidade: _____ **PROV1** |_____|

Província: _____

III.3 Em que ano é que veio viver para Benguela? **BENGANO**|__ __|

Ano: _____

III.4. Porquê que veio viver para Benguela? Vou ler-lhe uma lista, dessa lista, diga por favor qual foi o seu motivo para vir viver para Benguela. (*TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA*) **BENGRAZ** |___|

[1] Para fugir da guerra

[2] Para procurar trabalho

[3] Para vir ter com a família que estava em Benguela

[4] Porque lhe ofereceram trabalho em Benguela

[5] Para estudar

[6] Ou outra razão *(anote por favor)* _____

III.5. Em que sítio vivia nessa altura quando veio viver para Benguela? Diga por favor o nome do sítio e da província onde fica. **ORIG** |_____|

Nome da Localidade: _____ **PROV2** |_____|

Província: _____

III.6. Desde que vive em Benguela, visitou alguma vez esse sítio, onde vivia antes de vir para cá? **VISITA**|____ _|

[1] Sim
[2] Não (*PASSE PARA A QUESTÃO III.7)*

SE SIM, quantas vezes visitou esse sítio? [*TRATAR COMO LISTA*] **NUMVIS**|____ _|

[1] Uma única vez
[2] Poucas vezes
[3] Algumas vezes
[4] Muitas vezes

III. 7. Nesse sítio onde vivia, tem ainda coisas suas (lavra, casa, etc?)

[1] Sim **COISA1** |___|
[2] Não (*PASSE PARA A QUESTÃO III.8*)

SE SIM, que coisas são?

Coisa 11: _____ **COIS11** |___|
Coisa 12: _____ **COIS12** |___|
Coisa 13: _____ **COIS13** |___|

III.8. Gostaria de regressar para viver nesse sítio onde vivia antes de vir para Benguela? REGRES|_____|

[1] Sim
[2] Não

SE SIM,. porquê que gostaria de regressar para o sítio de onde veio? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO]* SREGRE1|____|

[1] Porque a vida aqui em Benguela é difícil
[2] Porque não gosto da vida da cidade SREGRE2|____|
[3] Porque esse sítio é a minha terra
[4] Porque quero regressar ao sítio onde nasci
[5] Porque tenho lá família
[6] Porque prefiro viver no campo
[7] Outra *(anote por favor)* _____

SE NÃO, porquê que não gostaria de regressar para o sítio de onde veio? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO]* NREGRE1|____|

[1] Porque já não tenho lá família
[2] Porque perdi todos os bens que tinha lá NREGRE2|____|
[3] Porque agora quero viver na cidade
[4] Porque aqui em Benguela já constitui família
[5] Porque aqui tenho trabalho
[6] Porque aqui já refiz a minha vida
[7] Porque a guerra pode recomeçar
[8] Porque lá está tudo destruído, não há condições
[9] Outra *(anote por favor)* _____

III.9. Esse sítio, onde vivia, é a sua terra? ORIGTERR|__|

[1] Sim *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO III.11)*
[2] Não
[99] Não sei *(PASSE PARA O BLOCO IV)*

SE NÃO, em que sítio fica a sua terra? Diga por favor o nome do sítio e da província onde fica a sua terra. TERRA|_____|

Nome da Localidade: _____ PROV3

Província: _____ |_____|

III.10. Nesse sítio que é a sua terra, tem ainda coisas suas (lavra, casa, etc?) COISA2 |____|

[1] Sim
[2] Não (*PASSE PARA A QUESTÃO III.11*)
[99] Não sei (*PASSE PARA A QUESTÃO III.11*)

SE SIM, que coisas são? COIS21 |____|

Coisa 21: _____ COIS22 |____|
Coisa 22: _____ COIS23 |____|
Coisa 23: _____

III.11. Porque é que o senhor diz que esse sítio é a sua terra? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO*]

TERRAZ1|___|

[1] Porque foi lá onde nasceu

TERRAZ2|___|

[2] Porque foi lá onde nasceram os seus pais

[3] Porque foi lá onde nasceram os seus antepassados

[4] Por que foi lá onde cresceu

[5] Por que lá tenho os meus bens (lavra, casa, etc.)

[6] Ou outra razão *(anote por favor)* _____

BLOCO IV: INSTALAÇÃO

Vou fazer-lhe agora algumas perguntas sobre o modo como o senhor(a) fez a sua vida aqui em Benguela depois de ter chegado cá.

ACOL|_____|

IV.1. Para onde é que foi viver quando chegou a Benguela? *[TRATAR COMO LISTA]*

[1] Num Campo de Deslocados

[2] Em casa de familiares

TEMPACOL|_____|

[3] Em casa de amigos

[4] Uma casa que aluguei

[5] Ou outro lugar *(anote por favor)* _____

IV.2. Quanto tempo ficou a viver nesse lugar (campo de deslocados / casa de familiares / casa de amigos, etc.)?

BROANO|___|

Duração da estadia _____ (anos/meses/semanas/dias) *(assinalar unidade de tempo)*

IV.3 Em que ano veio viver para este bairro?

BRORAZ|___|

Ano_____

IV.4. Por que é que veio viver para este bairro? *(TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA)*

ACOLECO|___|

[1] Porque foi onde conseguiu arranjar terreno para construir uma casa
[2] Porque conseguiu encontrar casa com aluguer barato
[3] Porque tinha já família neste bairro ou perto deste bairro
[4] Porque tinha amigos neste bairro ou perto deste bairro
[5] Outro lugar *(anote por favor)* _____

IV.5. Quando chegou a Benguela, que actividade fazia para arranjar dinheiro para viver e sustentar a família? *(TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA)*

[1] Tinha um emprego fixo *(anotar qual*) _____
[2] Vendia na praça, na rua, nas esquinas
[3] Tinha uma profissão por conta própria *(anotar qual*)
_____
[4] Ou outra coisa *(anote por favor)* _____

BLOCO V: VIDA SOCIAL NO BAIRRO

Vou fazer-lhe agora algumas perguntas sobre a vida da sua família e dos seus amigos aqui no seu bairro e em Benguela.

V.1 Tem familiares aqui em Benguela, para além das pessoas que vivem na sua casa? **FAMIL** |____|

[1] Sim
[2] Não *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO V.2)*

SE SIM, onde vivem esses seus familiares *(TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA*): **FAMILVIV** |____|

[1] Neste bairro?
[2] Num outro bairro longe daqui?
[3] Num outro bairro perto daqui?
[4] Outro *(anote por favor)* _____

V.2. Os seus familiares e o senhor costumam visitar-se? **VISIT** |____|

[1] Sim
[2] Não *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO V.3)*

SE SIM, quantas vezes se visitaram no último mês? (*TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA*) **NVISIT** |____|

[1] Poucas vezes
[2] Algumas vezes
[4] Muitas vezes

V.3. Considera os seus vizinhos amigos? **VIZAM** |____|

[1] Sim
[2] Não *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO V.4)*

SE SIM, por que é que o senhor considera os seus vizinhos amigos? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO*]

RAZVIZ1 |____|
RAZVIZ2 |____|

[1] Porque eles me ajudam em caso de doença ou falecimento
[2] Porque já os conheço há muito tempo
[3] Porque somos vizinhos há muitos anos
[4] Porque me ajudam sempre que é necessário
[5] Porque pensamos de maneira parecida sobre as coisas
[6] Porque vimos da mesma terra / região
[7] Ou outra *(anote por favor)* _____

V.4. Para além dos vizinhos, tem outros amigos neste bairro?

[1] Sim

[2] Não *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO V.5)* — AMIG |___|

SE SIM, por que é que o senhor diz que essas pessoas são amigas? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO*]

[1] Porque eles me ajudam em caso de doença ou falecimento — RAZAMI1 |___|
[2] Porque já os conheço há muito tempo
[3] Porque me ajudam quando é necessário — RAZAMI2 |___|
[4] Porque pensamos de maneira parecida sobre as coisas
[5] Porque vimos da mesma terra / região
[6] Ou outra *(anote por favor)* _____

V.5. Neste bairro há pessoas que fazem parte de igrejas, mas outras pessoas não fazem parte de nenhuma igreja. O senhor pertence a alguma igreja?

[1] Sim
[2] Não *(PASSE PARA QUESTÃO V.8)* — IGRE |___|

SE SIM, como se chama essa igreja? _____

V.6. Quantas vezes por semana o senhor vai à igreja?

[1] Nunca — NOMIGRE |___|
[2] De vez em quando (menos de uma vez por semana)
[3] _____vezes por semana — NUMIGREJ |___|
[3] Todos os dias
[4] Outro *(anote por favor)* _____

V.7. O(A) senhor(a) faz parte de algum grupo na igreja para fazer determinadas actividades (poupanças, para campanhas de limpeza, cuidar de doentes)?

[1] Sim
[2] Não (*PASSE PARA QUESTÃO* V.12)

SE SIM, para que serve esse grupo de que faz parte? — GRUPIGRE|___|

_____

V.8. O(A) senhor(a) faz parte de algum grupo com amigos ou vizinhos (fora da igreja) para fazer determinadas actividades (poupanças, para campanhas de limpeza, cuidar de doentes)? — ACTIGREJ|___|

[1] Sim
[2] Não (*PASSE PARA QUESTÃO* V.9)

SE SIM, para que serve esse grupo de que faz parte?

_____ — GRUPO|___|

V.9. O(A) senhor(a) faz parte de alguma associação, clube desportivo?

[1] Sim
[2] Não (*PASSE PARA QUESTÃO* V.10)

SE SIM, como se chama a associação ou clube desportivo de que faz parte? — ACTGRUPO|___|

_____

V.10 Algumas das pessoas que vivem cá em Benguela não gostam de estar aqui mas outras gostam de estar nesta cidade. O senhor gosta de viver aqui em Benguela? **ASSOC** |___|

[1] Sim
[2] Não **NOMASSOC** |___|

SE SIM, porque é que o senhor gosta de viver aqui em Benguela? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO*]

[1] Porque já fiz aqui muitos amigos **GOSTBENG** |___|
[2] Porque constitui família aqui
[3] Porque cresci aqui
[4] Porque tenho aqui trabalho
[5] Porque refiz a minha vida aqui
[6] Porque a minha família já não quer sair de Benguela
[7] Porque os meus filhos cresceram aqui **RAZGOST1** |___|
[8] Ou outra *(anote por favor)* _____ **RAZGOST2** |___|

SE NÃO, porque é que o senhor não gosta de viver aqui em Benguela? [*ANOTAR DUAS RAZÕES NO MÁXIMO*]

[1] Porque aqui não tenho amigos
[2] Porque aqui não tenho família
[3] Porque não gosto de viver na cidade
[4] Porque gosto mais da vida do campo / mato
[5] Porque não sou daqui
[6] Porque aqui a vida é difícil
[7] Ou outra *(anote por favor)* _____ **RAZNGOST1** |___|

RAZNGOST2 |___|

BLOCO VI: HABITAÇÃO E OCUPAÇÃO

Vou agora fazer-lhe algumas perguntas sobre a sua casa e o seu trabalho.

HABITAÇÃO

VI.1 Como sabe, algumas das pessoas neste bairro, construíram a casa deles, outras vivem numa casa onde pagam aluguer. Esta casa pertence a vocês ou é alugada? **HABPROP** |___|

[1] Propriedade da família (*PASSE PARA QUESTÃO VI.3)*
[2] Alugada
[99] Não sei (*PASSE PARA QUESTÃO VI.3*)

VI.2 Se a casa é alugada, quanto aproximadamente pagam de aluguer por mês? **ALUG** |___|

[1] Aluguer por mês_____ (KZ / USD)

[2] Não sei
[3] Sem resposta

VI.3 Quantas divisões tem a casa (quartos e sala)? **DIVIS** |___|

Nº de Divisões _____

VI.4 A casa tem latrina ou casa de banho? **LATRINA** |___|

[1] Casa de banho
[2] Latrina individual
[3] Nem uma nem outra

VI.5 Onde é que tira a água para a casa? (*TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA*) **H2O** |___|

[1] Tanque privado
[2] Fontanário / Chafariz público
[3] Água canalizada em casa
[4] Torneira em casa de um vizinho
[5] Outras fontes (especificar) _____

VI.6 Pode dizer-me de que materiais são feitas as paredes da casa? **PAREDES** |___|

[1] Blocos de cimento / Tijolo
[2] Blocos de adobe
[3] Materiais vegetais
[4] Outros materiais (especificar) _____

VI.7 Descrição dos materiais de construção do telhado *(OBSERVAR, SEM FAZER PERGUNTAS)*

TELHADO |___|

[1] Chapas de lusalite
[2] Chapas de zinco
[3] Materiais vegetais
[4] Telha
[5] Outros materiais (especificar) _____

BENS MATERIAIS DA FAMÍLIA

VI.8 Nem todas as famílias têm os mesmos bens materiais. Gostaríamos agora, por favor, que nos dissesse se as pessoas desta casa têm algum ou alguns dos bens que eu vou em seguida mencionar. Se sim, diga por favor quantos:

	Quantos têm	
Motorizada	_____	**MOTO**
Bicicleta	_____	**BICIC**
Viatura própria	_____	**CARRO**
Rádio (aparelhagem de música)	_____	**RADIO**
Geleira / Frigorífico	_____	**GELA**
Fogão a gás	_____	**FOGA**
TV	_____	**TV** |_____|

Video	_____	**VIDEO** |____|

ACTIVIDADES ECONÓMICAS

VI.9 **Como sabe, algumas pessoas têm um emprego que lhes dá um salário, outras têm outras actividades para fazer dinheiro e sustentar a casa**. Que tipo de actividade tem o chefe desta família? *(TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA)* **EMPREG** |___|

[1] Tem um emprego fixo *(anotar qual)*
_____
[2] Vende na praça, na rua, etc.
[3] Reformado
[4] Exerce uma profissão por conta própria (*anotar qual*)
_____
[5] Outra, por favor diga_____

VI.10 Para além do chefe de família, quantas pessoas em casa têm actividades para ganhar dinheiro e sustentar a casa? **NUMECO** |___|

Nº de pessoas_____ *(se nenhuma pessoa, colocar zero e passar para o BLOCO* VII*)*

VI.11 Diga por favor que actividades são?

Actividade 1: _____ **ACT1** |___|
Actividade 2: _____ **ACT2** |___|
Actividade 3: _____ **ACT3** |___|

VI. 12. Alguém aqui de casa cultiva alguma lavra aqui em Benguela? **LAVRA** |___|

[1] Sim
[2] Não (*PASSE O BLOCO VII*)

SE SIM, em que bairro se situa a lavra? *(TRATAR COMO UMA LISTA)* **LAVBAIR** |____|

[1] Aqui no bairro
[2] Em outro bairro _____

SE SIM, essa lavra pertence a uma pessoa que vive aqui nesta casa? **LAVPROP** |___|

[1] Sim
[2] Não

BLOCO VII: ESTRUTURA DA FAMÍLIA

Para terminar, vou fazer-lhe umas perguntas sobre o número de pessoas que vivem aqui em casa

VII.1 Quantas pessoas vivem nesta casa?

Total de pessoas na família _____

NUMFAM
|__|__|

VII.2. Peço-lhe agora que me diga para cada uma das pessoas que vive aqui em casa, a idade, se é do sexo feminino ou masculino e que relação familiar ou outra tem com o chefe de família (mulher, marido, filho, sobrinho(a), neto, amigo, pessoa que aluga quarto, etc)

	Sexo(M:1; F:2)	**Idade**	**Relação Chefe de Família**	
Chefe de família			N/A	**P1S**|____| **P1I**|____| **P1R**|____|
Pess2				**P2S**|____|, **P2I**|____| **P2R**|____|
Pess3				**P3S**|____|, **P13**|____|**P3R**| ____|
Pess4				**P4S**|____|, **P4I**|____| **P4R**|____|
Pess5				**P5S**|____|, **P5I**|____| **P5R**|____|
Pess6				**P6S**|____|, **P6I**|____| **P6R**|____|
Pess7				**P7S**|____|, **P7I**|____| **P7R**|____|
Pess8				**P8S**|____|, **P8I**|____| **P8R**|____|
Pess9				**P9S**|____| **P9I**|____| **P9R**|____|

Pess10				**P10S**|____| **P10I**|____|**P10R**|____|
Pess11				**P11S**|____| **P11I**|____|**P11R**|____|
Pess12				**P12S**|____| **P12I**|____|**P12R**|____|
Pess13				**P13S**|____| **P13I**|____|**P13R**|____|
Pess14				**P14S**|____| **P14I**|____|**P14R**|____|
Pess15				**P15S**|____| **P15I**|____|**P15R**|____|

Muito obrigada por me ter dado toda esta informação. Desculpe-me se lhe roubei muito tempo.

Comentários
Duração da entrevista:_____

Appendix B: On classifications of people during the colonial administration[195]

One of the difficulties I had in studying the history of Benguela and, as a result, in writing Chapter 2, relates to the various categories for classifying people which existed in Angola, especially at the end of the XIX century and beginning of the XX century. As I indicate in that chapter, these categories can change with time and also synchronically. The difficulty increases when one tries to translate those classificatory categories into English, as similar classificatory terms in the British and Portuguese colonial territories could cover entirely different categories of people (as in the case of *nativos* and natives, for example). This appendix attempts to describe and discuss these classificatory categories and to bring together in one text some of the definitions that were given throughout the main body of this dissertation.

In Basto's *Monographia da Catumbella* (1912) the author refers to Europeans, *filhos do país*, *filhos da terra*, *indígenas*, *gentio* and *gentio* from the hinterland. Scholars do not always agree on the classificatory category to be used when referring to different groups of people. As I describe in Chapter 2, Miller (1988) uses the term Luso-African to refer to "not just race or culture but also an economically specialized group of eighteen-century slave transporters and shippers" (p.247, my emphasis). Describing social life in the XIX century and referring to the racially and socially heterogeneous group that existed mainly in Luanda, its hinterland and in Benguela, Dias (1983) talks about the "creoles of Angola". Freudenthal (2002) and many-Portuguese speaking authors use the term "*filhos do país*" to refer to the same group during the same historical period. *Filhos do país* designated a group of people who were black or racially mixed, but who were integrated into the colonial society and could be designated as *civilizados* (before and after the establishment of the new colonial system). The description of Catumbela at the beginning of the XX century by Bastos (1912) seems to indicate that *filhos da terra* could be another way of referring to the group designated as *filhos do país*.

According to some authors (see Freudenthal, 2002 for example), at the end of the XIX century the term *angolense* was also used to refer to the designated *filhos do país*. In any case, *filhos do país*, *angolenses*, *filhos da terra* all belonged to the group of *civilizados*. As Freudenthal (2002) says "to be *angolense* implied a clear appropriation of the [social] status of '*civilizado'* which obviously differentiated *filhos do país* from *gentios* or from *indígenas*" (p. 58, my translation).

[195] I would like to thank Aida Freudenthal and Maria da Conceição Neto for the discussions and the information exchanged which shed much light on the subject for me.

So, *filhos do país* distinguished themselves from the *gentio* population group, referred to also as *indígenas* (indigenous), which comprised the slaves and members of African groups living around towns (Freudenthal, 2001). According to Bastos's description of Catumbella, "*gentio* from the hinterland" referred probably to the African population that did not reside in town – individual members of trading caravans for example, who came to town only for trading purposes. Social categorisation resulting from contacts and proximity to colonial society led to the emergence of a group who were not considered *gentio* or *filhos do país* by the colonial society, and in the literature this group is referred to as Kimbaris, Quimbares, Vimbali, Ovimbali or Mbali. Individuals belonging to this group were not perceived as belonging to African groups either. This term was used already in the XVII century[196] and refers to black individuals who had been close to the colonial society (serving it or not) and had adopted "white" ways of living and of behaving but who were not perceived as belonging to the group of *civilizados* (that is, they did not belong to the elite of *filhos do país*).

Fihos do país, filhos da terra and *angolenses* all belonged to the social group of *civilizados* which the new colonial system at the end of the XIX century transformed into a legal status. At the beginning of the XX century, the term *nativo* appears and is also used to refer to this group. However, the designation of *nativo* seems to have stronger political connotations and may have appeared as a result of a consolidation of an "angolense identity" (Freudenthal, 2002). The *angolense* identity seems to have emerged at the end of the XIX century, as the contradictions within the colonial society surfaced and as the group of *filhos do país* was relegated to a secondary position. This identity was attached to a group of black and *mestiços civilizados* who distinguished themselves from the Europeans at the beginning of the XX century (ibid.); who were social and economic victims of the new colonial system and the legislation of Norton de Matos; and who protested openly, especially in the press, against their loss of social and economic status within the colonial society. As I note in Chapter 2 (footnote 84), it is probably because of the strong political connotation of the term *nativo* that Norton de Matos avoids that term in his legislation and prefers the term "*naturais de Angola*" – those who were born in Angola, but (implicitly) who are not white. Freudenthal (2002) refers to the use of *nativo* also for *indígenas*. Perhaps for that reason, the term "*nativo civilizado*" (civilized native) can also be found in the literature.

In the literature, reference is also made to groups called "Europeans" and "Portuguese". These categories seem sometimes to designate people who came from Europe and/or

[196] The term was already referred to by António de Oliveira de Cadornega (1972) in Vol.III of his *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas: 1680.*

Portugal and at other times *civilizados* in general, especially before the rubber trade and the growth in the population coming from Europe as indicated in Tables 5 and 6.

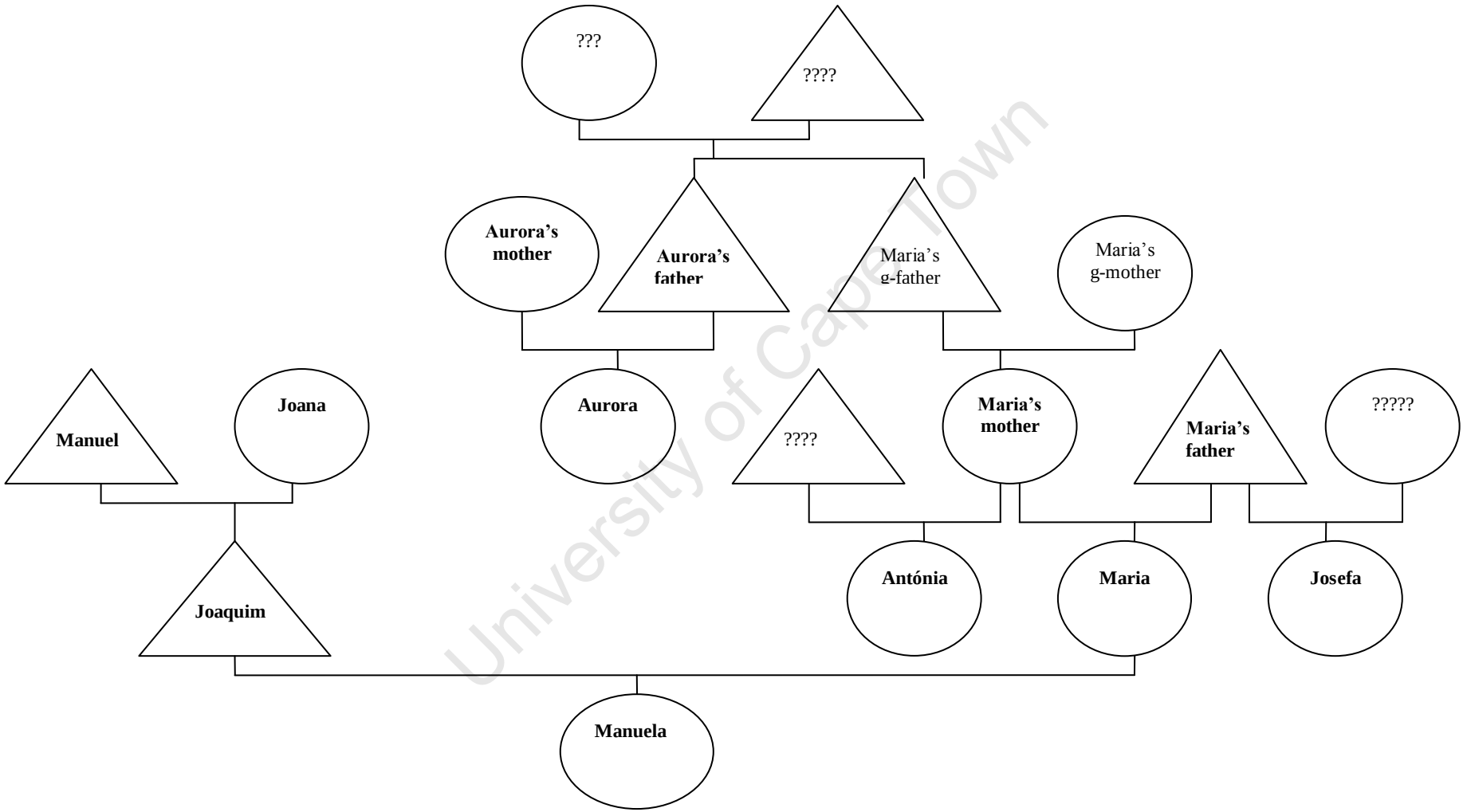
The establishment of the new colonial system at the end of the XIX century laid a legal veil over these categories with the creation of the legal categories of *civilizados* and *indigenas*. The establishment of the *assimilado* legal status a few years later (see Chapter 2) created three legal categories of people in Angola: the whites (or those who looked like whites), who were "naturally" considered *civilizado* and did not need to apply for *assimilado* legal status and had automatic access to the identity card; the *assimilados* (non-whites who had to comply with certain social and economic criteria in order to access that status legally, see Chapter 2); and the *indígenas* (non-whites who could not / were not able to access the legal status of *assimilado*).

However, despite the legal categories, in practice and sometimes in legislation, there were still multiple and subtle ways of classifying people, as the use of the expression *naturais de Angola* by Norton de Matos seems to demonstrate. In the 1930s for example, whites or children of whites who were born in the African colonies could also be called "Euro-Africans". School attendance statistics mention the following categories: white Europeans; Euro-Africans (who could be whites or *mestiços*) and *nativos* (civilised blacks or those who looked like blacks).[197] Although this seems not to have been clearly regulated by legislation,[198] the category "*branco de segunda*" (second-class white) was used during the 1930s and the 1940s to designate whites who were born in the Portuguese colonies. This issue has been little studied.

The end of the *Indigenato* in 1961 put an end to legal classification of social status. This was more strongly enforced with the independence of the country in 1975. However, there still exists in Angola a variety of ways of socially designating and classifying people, designations that sometimes relate to fine racial attributes, but also economic and social status and behaviour, as the categories of *atrasado*, *avançado* and *evoluído* suggest. This is a vast terrain for historical, sociological and anthropological research.

[197] *Voz do Planalto* nº 149, 21-09-1935 – Special Edition *Exposição Provincial de Benguela - Nova Lisboa 1935* (Courtesy of Maria da Conceição Neto).
[198] Personal information from Maria da Conceição Neto.

Appendix C: Manuela's Family Tree



Appendix D: Glossary of key Portuguese terms

afilhados/ afilhadas	Literally, "godchildren", but taken in the text to mean children from poor families who go to live with wealthier relatives' families, where their basic material needs are met but where, often, they are also expected to provide domestic labour (see also *madrinha* / *padrinho* and Chapter 4).
alvará	A state-issued license to do business
anexo	Small rooms built in the backyard of houses. In *bairros,* these rooms are often rented out or inhabited by the children of the owners of the main house.
angariadores	Labour recruiters during the period of colonial administration
assimilação	Literally, "assimilation". It refers to the process of social and cultural assimilation instituted by the Portuguese colonial system at the beginning of the XX century (see Chapter 2). *Assimilação* allowed for access to a Portuguese identity card, among other rights, and to escape *Indigenato* and forced labour.
assimilados	Literally, "assimilated". *Assimilação* led to the legal status of *assimilado* to which non-whites could have access. The legal status of *assimilado* allowed for differentiation from the legal status of *indígena*.
atrasado	Literally, "backward person" (see Chapter 3 for discussion of the concept)
atraso	Backwardness (see Chapter 3 for discussion of the concept)
avanço	Advancement (see Chapter 3 for discussion of the concept)
aviados	Traders employed by someone else during the colonial trade.
avó	Grandmother
bairro	Literally, "neighbourhood". Officially, *bairros* in Angola designate areas according into which the urban space has been divided. Commonly, "*bairro*" refers to the informal settlements that generally surround the *cidade (*see Chapter 3).
baixa	Literally, "low". Commonly used to refer to the lower area of towns. However, in Luanda the term is also used to refer to the "urbanised area" of the city (see Chapter 3).
caderneta indígena	An identity document, similar to the "pass" in South Africa, mandatory for *indígenas* under *Indigenato*.
"*camulata"*	Colloquial designation for a racially mixed person
capataz	Foreman, one who supervised local workers on farms and road works and in factories. *Capataz* is a figure of the colonial order, seldom used now, and often connoting roughness and cruelty.
capuka	A locally fermented beverage made of maize
chingues	Very "basically" built *cubatas* where bush traders lived
cidade	Literally, "the city". In Angola the term refers also to that part of urban areas where space has bureaucratically structured, "urbanised" (see Chapter 3).
citadina/ citadino	A female/ male resident of a *cidade*
civilizado	Literally, "civilised". Under the Portuguese colonial administration, the term referred to the social and, afterwards, legal status which described the population group that differentiated itself from the *gentio* and / or *indígenas* (see Chapter 2 and Appendix B).
comadre/	Terms that refer to the institution of *compadrio*. This institution has been

compadre/ compadrio	created by the Catholic Church through the ceremony of baptism and establishes a "spiritual relationship between *padrinhos* (godfathers) [and *madrinhas* (godmothers)] with *afilhados* (godsons) [and *afilhadas* (goddaughters)]"
comunas	Within a province, the Angolan local state administration is structured in municipalities and, at a lower level, in *comunas*.
construção definitiva	Term commonly used to refer to houses. A house in *construção definitive* is normally built in cement bricks (see Chapter 5 for discussion of the concept).
contínuos	Auxiliary employees in public administration offices, usually responsible for minor tasks such as cleaning, making and serving drinks and going on errands.
contratados	Contracted workers during *Indigenato*. A form of forced labour.
contrato	Literally, "contract". The term refers to a form of labour contract under *Indigenato* which in reality placed people under *contrato* in a system of forced labour. (see Chapter 2)
cubatas	Huts. Houses made of poles and mud covered by grass.
estar actualizado	Be aware, informed of what is happening in the world (see Chapter 3 for discussion of this expression).
evoluído	Literally, "evolved". Term similar to *avançado*, developed (see Chapter 3 for discussion of the term).
fazenda	Large commercial farms
fazer a vida avançar	To enable one's life to progress, to move forward. Expression linked to *evoluído*, *avançado*, developed.
fuba	Maize meal
funantes	Traders in remote areas during the period of colonial trade (see Chapter 2).
ganhar	Literally, it can mean both "to earn (a salary)" and "to win" (see Chapter 5)
gentio	At the end of the XIX century, the term referred to slaves and members of African groups who were not considered to be part of the *civilizado* population group. The original meaning in Portuguese, "pagans", refers to those who are not Christians or Hebrews. Later, in Angola, this word came to be used colloquially for a person who does not know how to behave properly in society (see Chapter 2 and Appendix B).
imposto de cubata	Literally, "hut tax" to which the *indígenas* population was subject during *Indigenato*. In 1919 it was replaced by an *indígenas* "poll tax" (see Chapter 2).
indigenas	Literally, "indigenous", "natives". At the end of the XIX century, the use of the term was similar to *gentio*. But the new colonial system made it a legal status with many obligations, including forced labour (see Chapter 2 and Appendix B).
Indigenato	The *Indigenato* was the equivalent of the Native Policy in English colonies (see Chapter 2).
kimbo	A Portuguese adaptation of the Umbundu word *ymbo*, which means "small village", usually referring to a small rural village.
kupapata	Motorbike-taxi drivers
lanchonete	A small place selling drinks and small snacks
litoral	The coast
lombi	A sauce made of green leaves, usually eaten with *pirão*.
madrinha/	Literally, "godmother/godfather". *Madrinha* or *padrinho* refers to the universe of

padrinha	*compadrio,* meaning the woman or the man who serves as a witness in the ceremony of Catholic baptism. *Padrinhos* and *madrinhas* are morally obliged to support their *afilhados* and to look after them if their parents could not. In Angola, the *madrinha* or *padrinho* can be an aunt, an uncle, or another resourceful person who possesses the economic or socio-cultural capital to secure the future of the child.
mato	Literally, "bush", but sometimes used in a pejorative sense, as the opposite of the *cidade*. (see Chapter 3)
mestiços	Racially mixed people
musseque	Term used to refer to informal settlements in Luanda. The word derives from Kimbundu, describing the red sandy soil of the areas where musseques are often located.
nativos	Literally, "natives". The term was used mainly to refer to non-white *civilizados* at the beginning of the XX century (see Appendix B).
naturais de Angola	Literally "those who were born in Angola". Term sometimes used in legislation at the beginning of the century to refer to non-white *civilizados*.
negócios	The literal English translation is "business". However, in the context of the informal market, *negócio* refers to the activity of selling, usually in the local market.
pensão	Guest house
pirão	Paste made of maize flour
pombeiros	Traders in the hinterland during the period of the colonial trade
portugalisação	An overall programme of cultural assimilation seeking to inculcate "the Portuguese way of being in the world".
quintal	(Plural *quintais*) "Backyard". During the slave trade, *quintais* referred to the large areas surrounded by very high walls which served as "pens" for slaves waiting in their hundreds to be shipped.
sanzala	Word that comes from Kimbundu and means small population settlement. During the colonial period, urban informal settlements were in some Angolan cities called *sanzalas*.
serviçais	Like *"moleques",* it is a term used to designate slaves after the official abolition of slavery by Portugal (see Chapter 2).
soba	The designation commonly used for a traditional authority in Angola. The word *Soba* comes from the word *osoma* in Umbundu.
subir	Literally, "lift, elevate". It is sometimes used colloquially to mean to "move up" in terms of social and economic status.
subúrbio	Not always correctly translated by the word "suburb" in English. In Portuguese, *subúrbio* also refers to the poor neighbourhoods of colonial cities and has connotations of "sub-urban", or not fully urban.
tia	Aunt